

# information bulletin


OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE POLISH UNITED  
WORKERS' PARTY

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# information bulletin



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## C O N T E N T S

	Page
 Józef Cyrankiewicz	
Address to the Sejm on Some Aspects of the Present Economic Situation in Poland . . . . .	7
 Zenon Kliszko	
Speech Delivered at a Meeting in Warsaw to Mark the 20th Anniversary of the Union of Fighting Youth	53
 Jerzy Kwiatek	
The Polish Student Association . . . . .	68

### I N F O R M A T I O N

The Polish United Workers' Party in 1962 . . . . .	78
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### M A T E R I A L S   A N D   D O C U M E N T S

Telegram to Comrade Palmiro Togliatti . . . . .	88
Chronicle . . . . .	89





## JÓZEF CYRANKIEWICZ

Member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP  
Chairman of Council of Ministers of the  
Polish People's Republic

# ADDRESS TO THE SEYM ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE PRESENT ECONOMIC SITUATION IN POLAND

MARCH 28, 1963

*Honourable Members of the Sejm!*

Three months ago, the Sejm held a lengthy debate on the economic situation in connection with the report on the fulfilment of the plan for 1962 and the tasks for 1963. On that occasion, members of the Sejm made many valuable and critical remarks in evaluating the situation in various branches of the economy, remarks, which apart from personal initiative, were intended to help the government solve the difficulties of 1963.

Four months ago, in his address to the Trade Union Congress, Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party, presented a frank and sincere picture of the basic difficulties of our economy and summed up the first results for 1962 in the field of agriculture — where the development of production is in our situation the basic condition for raising the standard of living — and also other fields: in foreign trade, regarding the lowering of production costs in industry and increasing productivity, regarding the insufficient progress made in technology, the situation with regard to capital investments, and explained the basic causes of these difficulties, both objective and subjective, difficulties whose elimination



COMRADE CYRANKIEWICZ ADDRESSES THE SEYM

depends on us — the government, the Party active, the economic administration, the industrial associations, the workers' self-governments, the management of enterprises, the working class and the whole society.

After adopting the plan for 1963, which constituted a necessary and realistic correction of the Five-Year Plan, a number of further steps and decisions were taken to assure the carrying out of this plan.

In February the CC of the PUWP met to discuss the question of increasing agricultural production, developing the fodder base, particularly of protein fodder, and the strengthening and development of the State Farms. All this, it is obvious, calls

for higher investments in the course of this year and the next few years.

During the first three months of this year, new circumstances arose, the effects of which I feel duty-bound to inform the Sejm and the whole nation so that we may fully face up to the additional difficulties with the purpose of overcoming them and by efficiently organizing our efforts conquer them despite everything. And we have the possibility to do so. We must not be pessimistic — there are no grounds for it. But neither must we be guided by rash, irresponsible optimism of the order “things will work out somehow.” Instead, we must be guided by a realistic evaluation of the situation and, I would say, that realistic optimism may be based only on a realistic evaluation of the situation. One cannot take a different attitude in a country which is developing its economy with great effort from one year to another, an economy whose foundations are becoming firmer with each passing year.

From this point of view, the measure of the effort of the whole population is the sum of over 100,000 million zlotys expended for investment projects in the past year. Investment in industry increased by 15.7 per cent as compared with 1961, in socialized agriculture by 26 per cent, in transport by 9.8 per cent and in social facilities by 5.9 per cent.

Poland has been enriched by new work establishments, hence new means for economic development, new opportunities for employment for the young people, large numbers of whom are reaching the age when they are to take jobs; new mines and new extracting levels have been put into operation, also new electric power plants, particularly the new *Turów* power plant that is working on brown coal, new turbine sets in the existing power plants, and new factories and departments in the engineering, chemical and other branches of industry.

Only several days ago we reached the rich deposits of newly discovered copper ore in the first shaft of the copper basin which we are developing with the cooperation of Czechoslovakia. This ore is an exceedingly valuable raw material. The construction of a large sector of the "Friendship" oil pipeline — a joint undertaking of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance countries — is drawing to a close. The construction of the refinery and petrochemical works at Płock is well advanced. We are building new factories to produce synthetic fibres so that in the future we shall be able to reduce the import of raw materials for the textile industry.

The broad scope of investment also signifies a necessary adjustment — some may say still insufficient — in the distribution of productive forces, thus activating economically backward regions. One need only take the example of Konin and Płock in order to demonstrate the tremendous significance that work undertaken there will have for the future of these regions.

In the past year the total production of industry rose by 8.4 per cent over 1961. The two leading industries, the engineering and chemical industries, showed an increase of over 15 per cent. This is of utmost importance for the development of the whole national economy. The engineering industry produced many new and interesting machines which had previously been imported. The chemical industry is producing 230 new products for agriculture, industry and for the consumer market. The development of industrial production made it possible to increase our exports, which rose by 9.5 per cent, hence more quickly than production. This should be a rule.

Mention should also be made of housing construction and construction of social facilities. In 1962, 330,000 rooms were handed over for occupancy and 4,500 additional schoolrooms, of these over 2,000 in the new Millennium Schools, were made available to our children. It should be noted that since the

launching of this project, 571 Millennium Schools were turned over for use. This is an exceedingly important community campaign, an action of great significance conducted by the National Unity Front Committee.

A measure of our effort in 1962 is provided by the growing numbers of pupils and students. As compared with last year, enrolment for the current school year is 14 per cent higher in secondary schools, 22.8 per cent higher in trade schools, and 16.8 per cent greater in universities and colleges.

These are only some of the assets chosen haphazardly from the balance sheet for the past year. These assets characterize our Socialist economy as a swiftly developing and vigorous organism, one capable of fulfilling all kinds of ambitious tasks.

Does this give us ground to infer that the present economic situation is good? Unfortunately, as we all know, agriculture fell short of its targets; known, too, are the serious difficulties which arose in foreign trade. These facts, among others, made it difficult to raise real earnings.

Does this mean that the situation is bad? No. The situation would be bad if the economy were in an impasse, if it were stagnating, if the level of the economy were in regression, if there were unemployment or a rise in the number of jobless, and if, as a result, the level of total consumption were on the downgrade. Meanwhile, employment is growing and too quickly at that. The situation would be bad if capital investments that create prospects for further development were halted. But it's just the opposite — investments are growing and are today focussed on projects which are most needed by the national economy and by the community. In a word, things would be bad if any one sector were sluggish.

What then is the situation? The most appropriate definition would be: difficult because of the general, irresistible, steady development. I do not wish to use the cliché — difficulties



of growth, because part of the difficulties are of a different character and because this phrase frequently constitutes an alibi to justify the excessive costs of economic development (I have in mind here excessive employment, the lag in technological progress, cost estimates for investment projects that turn out to be too low), an alibi for downright inefficiency. None the less, some of the difficulties are obviously bound up with the rapid economic growth of the country. Yes, with rapid growth.

I wish to speak of the difficulties we must overcome, but whose existence and magnitude should not dim the overall picture of the country. For our economy is growing and will continue to grow with each day providing that the subjective difficulties are removed, that conditions are created for tackling the difficulties which at present, are still due to objective and structural factors.

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Frequent reference has been made to two most important and closely related sources of difficulties, namely the effects of the crop failure and the unfavourable situation in foreign trade. I shall therefore limit myself to certain facts.

Our agriculture systematically increased production in the preceding years. That was the result of a correct agricultural policy adopted by the Party and the government.

In 1958-1962, total agricultural production increased by 18.6 per cent as compared with the preceding Five-Year Plan. The national demand for food and agricultural products could be satisfied in a greater degree, and part of the farm products could be exported. This encouraging growth of agricultural production was seriously disturbed by the crop failure of 1962.

In 1962, total agricultural production dropped by 8.5 per cent, crops by as much as 14.2 per cent, which in turn was bound

to aggravate the shortage in fodder that had been apparent for quite some time. The drop — a considerable drop — in fodder crops in Poland, in rye and potato fodder crops, was acutely felt because of the rise in the quantity of livestock. A certain decrease in the number of pigs is to be expected. The unusually harsh winter and the decrease in the supply of fodder affected milk production. The supply of milk purchased in January and February of this year was 99,000,000 litres lower than in the preceding year. In order to guarantee the supply of milk for the population, it was necessary to limit the production of butter, cream and cheese.

Some of these difficulties are transitional. If the weather conditions are good, we may expect a rise in agricultural production. This seems to be indicated by the great interest the peasants take in the further development of farming as evidenced by large purchases of fertilizer, agricultural machines and equipment.

Agriculture suffered heavy losses in 1962. In line with the law of communicating vessels, other branches of the national economy have been affected, and particularly foreign trade. The total value of trade with foreign countries was 10.7 per cent higher in 1962 than in 1961, and with Socialist countries — 15.1 per cent higher. Machines and equipment constituted 30 per cent of the exports, while in 1960-1961 they accounted for 28 per cent.

These achievements are indisputable, but they are incomparably small in relation to the present and long-range needs of our economy.

It need only be pointed out that because of the crop failure we must import three million tons of cereals and fodder. Moreover, as a result of the crop failure the export plan for farm produce and foodstuffs has not been fulfilled. Instead

of showing an increase, exports fell by 2 per cent as compared with the preceding year.

This is another serious gap in the trade balance. And if we add to that the fact that the plan for the export of machines and equipment has not been fully met and that many prices shape up unfavourably on the foreign markets then we have a fuller picture of the situation in foreign trade.

In addition to the principal difficulties caused by the crop failure in the past year and by the very unfavourable situation in foreign trade, we have unfavourable phenomena of a different nature which accompany the growth of our economy. We spoke on this subject at greater length during the Seym debate. These were: underestimation of the cost of investment projects, rise in employment in excess of the plan, lag in the plan for technological progress, etc.

Furthermore, the needs of export, the needs of agriculture, the needs of transport called for a decision to increase capital investment outlays in these fields by about 12,000 million zlotys for the years 1963-1965. This in turn requires certain adjustments and reductions in the investments in other branches of the national economy for 1964-1965.

The increase in the employment figures, which I mentioned before, is on the one hand due to the rapid rate of development of the national economy and, on the other hand, is an indispensable and consciously deliberate effect of the fact that large new age groups are gradually entering the labour market.

The rapid development of the national economy and the high level of capital investment opened opportunities for work to 514,000 persons during the first two years of the Five-Year Plan. But this was an excessive increase. Factories and service enterprises in many cases fulfil their tasks not by a rise in productivity but by increasing the factory personnel, which to all practical purposes precludes a rise in real wages.



With the rise in employment figures the total wage fund increased by about 4,300 million zlotys. It must be borne in mind that part of the increase is caused by the growing number employed in schools, health service, commerce and public facilities. But the rise in the wage fund over and above the planned figure, due in part to the excessive growth in employment, absorbed a portion of the reserve finances which could have been allocated for the adjustment of wages. The nominal rise in the wage fund for 1962 was 7.4 per cent. Taking into consideration the increase in living expenditures the rise amounts to about 4 per cent.

All these factors weighed on the level of average real wages, particularly as the bad harvest is responsible for a certain price increase, principally of vegetables and fruit. Although the income of the population increased by 4 per cent — an increase which is also connected with the rise in employment, we did not succeed in raising real wages. However, previous living standards were maintained and market prices remained stable. Families in which new members began to work and families in which the working members were promoted or received increased bonuses, enjoyed better material conditions. Other families are rather affected by a certain drop in real wages.

Thus, we were not in an easy situation at the end of 1962; stability was maintained with great effort and severe strain was noted in many important branches of our economy. As is known, it became absolutely necessary to slow down temporarily the rate of growth of industrial production. This year it is to go up only by 5 per cent. In a moment I shall deal with the difficulties we face in this connection after the winter months.

That more or less was the situation when the plan for 1963

was being adopted, namely at the close of December and the beginning of the current year.

I thought it advisable to review the situation in brief, since not one single problem brought up in the discussion at that time, not one of the difficulties which I have enumerated has stopped affecting our economic situation today. On the contrary, the difficult situation was further aggravated by the effects of the exceptionally harsh and long winter which is called in all Europe, and justly so, "the winter of the century."

The concurrence of a number of natural phenomena, the kind that had not been witnessed for years or even decades, characterized this past winter. Hence, long-lasting low temperatures in all parts of the country, heavy snowfalls, frequent blizzards, snowstorms, and a late spring.

The low temperatures which were frequently noted this past winter were recorded only a few times in the last hundred years. The data of the State Weather Institute indicate that on the whole, the average temperature was 6 to 10 degrees (Centigrade) lower than the normal average. But it was the concurrence of all the weather conditions that qualify this winter as an unusual one, the kind even the oldest people do not remember.

The exceptionally harsh winter, which started in the middle of December, disrupted the normal functioning of the transport system. The railroad and its clients were not prepared for the harsh conditions of the winter. Consequently, the whole transportation system worked less efficiently. The constant blizzards and snowstorms that covered the roads and traction facilities at the stations, the switches and railroad sidings, made it impossible to maintain normal traffic, despite the constant stand-by and the mobilization of all possible forces and resources. We know that this was true not only in Poland alone. The exceptionally heavy snowfall created exceedingly difficult con-

ditions especially in the Katowice railway junction which serves an important and very complex centre of our economy. The winter combined with the permanent congestion of railway traffic which existed here even before.

As far as the Silesian junction is concerned, in addition to the immediate action, the government has taken long-term measures in order to ease the congestion in that critical point of our transport. Repeatedly, railway traffic came to a halt because the installations were frozen or damaged. Serious difficulties were encountered in unloading. The most hard hit was the region on the eastern frontier where the temperature readings were frequently at 40 below zero (Centigrade). Some ores had to remain twice the normal time in the defrosting plants. What it meant to unload coal and ore in the foundries during these months can best be told by many miners, steel workers and workers of other factories, who toiled day and night to overcome the difficulties and return the freight cars as quickly as possible.

Despite the full mobilization of the railroads and despite the assistance of the People's Councils, the army, motor transport and the building enterprises, some days only one half the normal freight was loaded and the railways carried during this period 6,400,000 tons less freight than in the preceding year. And the plan provided for an increase.

But despite the great effort and exceptional measures, more could not be accomplished. That is why the work so generously contributed by the railroad workers as well as by all the transport workers, dockers and the more than 10,000 workers sent to help the railroads deserves the warmest praise and gratefulness. It is due to their sacrifice that even in the most difficult periods industry could continue work and the population was supplied with fuel, light and an almost normal supply of food.

The distressing winter, whose effects we must be fully aware

of, struck the heaviest blow at our coal supply. The early beginning of winter sorely depleted our stock of coal and we began the new year with a smaller supply than planned. It turned out that the management of certain enterprises paid little attention to the regulations regarding the use of fuel. It turned out that discipline is not a common virtue. This applies both to the exceedingly high consumption of coal, examples of which were given on behalf of the government by Comrade Jędrychowski in the January report on the coal situation, and the irresponsible and premature consumption of supplies in the conviction that, one way or another, they will get more coal and then make up the losses in the spring. I am not referring to cases where working conditions and the technology of production called for an increased consumption of coal, as for instance the longer time needed to defrost the ore transported, etc.

It must be added that due to the hardships encountered in transporting coal out of the mines, and the production hardships in the mines due to the fact that the installations froze, that the sand for filling was not supplied regularly, the daily production of hard coal for the first quarter of the year, and particularly in January and February was much below the planned volume. This aggravated the danger of coal shortages — in relation to needs and planned deliveries as well as in relation to the increased demand resulting from the harsh winter.

In these circumstances, in order not to interrupt industrial production and to supply the population with coal, the Party and government leadership appealed to the miners to do extra work on Sundays so as to overcome the difficult situation in the country. I should like to take this opportunity to thank the miners, who never let us down in difficult situations, on behalf of the leadership of the Party and government and on

behalf of the whole population, for their generous work contributed with great self-denial. Working on Sundays, giving up the well-deserved day of rest, the miners will provide us with an additional 1,300,000 tons of coal by the end of the first quarter.

The government drafted and successfully implemented a programme providing for a maximum cut in the consumption of coal and electric power.

The supply of power was greatly limited and measures were taken to ensure a rational and economical use of power. During the most difficult periods, work in some factories was stopped temporarily and consumption of coal and electric power was limited for non-productive purposes. It was necessary to stop production temporarily or to limit considerably the most coal-consuming production, such as aluminum, carbide, cement, glass containers, lime and bricks. During this difficult period, a disruption in the steady supply of coal for the urban and rural population in a number of regions was unfortunately not avoided, and this despite the efforts of the transport system and additional allocations of coal.

What are the final results of our emergency measures? The consumption of coal in February was only about 80,000 tons higher than in February of the preceding year, while in January the difference was as high as 350,000 tons.

But the losses are serious:

because the decrease in extraction of coal was accompanied by a marked increase in its consumption;

because the most urgent demands swallowed a part of the coal designated for export — the more than a million tons of coal we lacked in the first quarter for export — made another big hole in our balance of payments;

because the supplies on hand for the national economy are considerably reduced.

Three major steps were taken to remedy the situation:

Firstly, to increase the extraction of coal. According to estimates 112,500,000 tons and not 111,500,000 tons of hard coal must be mined this year in order to overcome the biggest difficulties. The additional million tons is the most important task facing the miners. The million tons is our new appeal to our brother miners. Unfortunately, it is evident from the present situation at the mines that this cannot be accomplished unless the miners work on Sundays. That is why I take this occasion to appeal to them to assist the country.

Provision is made for a sizeable increase in the extraction of brown coal, particularly for the production of electric power at the maximum capacity of power plants that use this fuel. We know that the plants are gradually attaining full production capacity. About a million tons of brown coal should be supplied to households and central heating plants situated in the vicinity of the mines. We could thus replace 250,000 tons of hard coal with brown coal.

Great importance is attached to the use of other types of fuel. We have allocated large sums for prospecting for oil and natural gas. In 1961-1962 we spent about 2,000 million zlotys for this purpose. By making additional investments on the basis of the results of exploratory drillings, we shall increase the extraction of natural gas far above the level envisaged in the Five-Year Plan. We were forced to make a drastic reduction in the export of coal in the last quarter. These losses must be made up by the additional export of other commodities in excess of the planned objectives.

Thirdly, further effective steps must definitely be taken to reduce the consumption of hard coal. In collaboration with the interested government departments, the State Inspectorate of Fuel and Energy is preparing a plan for organizational and technical measures which should bring savings of several



hundred thousand tons of coal. A government resolution to that effect will be adopted within the next few days. At the same time, indispensable measures are being introduced to ensure the most stringent economy in the consumption of electric power by industry and transportation.

Here we have the greatest possibilities for economy. But the long-range plan for the modernization of installations that burn coal and for replacing steam engines with electric locomotives on the railroads must be put into effect. We have been doing this but too slowly in view of the very strained coal balance.

However, all these measures will not completely overcome the strained fuel balance in the country. This is so because of our general coal situation about which I should like to speak at some length in order also to try to answer the question so frequently asked in Poland: "Why do we have trouble with coal in a country which mines so much coal, which is a country of coal?"

That is true, we are one of the biggest producers of coal in Europe. But it is also true that due to the expansion of industry and the urbanization in Poland, the demand for coal rises more quickly than extraction.

In 1955-1962 industrial production increased by about 90 per cent, while the extraction of coal went up by 16 per cent. We do not expect that the production of coal will keep step with the total increase in industrial production. However, the gap between these proportions caused the strain in our coal balance and made it necessary to reduce the export of coal.

In the last seven years, the consumption of coal increased from 72 million tons to 95 million tons, or by about one third. The difference in volume placed a strain upon our fuel balance. The strain forced us to limit the export of coal in this period by seven million tons, with a clear loss to foreign trade. In 1955

coal was still our main export item and brought 41 per cent of our total income from exports.

Today, coal constitutes 13 per cent of our total income from exports. We do not yearn for the days when not having anything to export, not having machines and equipment that we could export, we had to base our exports primarily on coal — on raw material. Nevertheless, in our balance of payments, in our plans for an increase in the mining of coal, the export of this raw material must hold its proper place. For by exporting coal we may obtain in exchange commodities which we need and seek not only from Socialist countries but also from the capitalist countries.

Not everybody realizes what enormous investments must be made in coal mining. In order to maintain the production of hard coal at the present level, investments reach 40 zlotys per ton a year. At the present level of production the total is about 4,400 million zlotys.

A new mine producing coal for the power industry at an estimated 10,000 tons per day costs about 2,500 million zlotys. We are sinking shafts in 11 such mines. Thus the raw material is not only of supreme importance to our economy and to the life of our country but also very expensive.

The measures presented to the Sejm regarding economies in the use of coal and energy are not sufficient to eliminate the strained fuel balance.

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An enormous quantity of coal, electric power, coke and gas is used by the population in the households. 18 million tons of coal are supplied for fuel. Are savings possible in this regard? They are not only possible but absolutely necessary, especially in the consumption of electricity and gas.



The essential needs must be satisfied, but we must combat waste, subjective waste, caused by thoughtless squandering of this raw material. We also have in mind waste due to faulty stoves and furnaces.

The present prices were not conducive to economy and did not provide an incentive to combat waste. The price of 1 kilowatt-hour of electricity in the urban network was at an average of 43 groszy in the country. Thus it was about 15 groszy below the pre-war rates. A paradoxical situation. For according to the present currency value, the prices of consumer goods and nominal wages differ, in some cases, about fifteen times or so in relation to the pre-war rates for electric power. It is our fault that the rates remained nominally lower than before the war.

The rate of 43 groszy per kilowatt-hour did not encourage economy. Many of us remember how sparing one had to be in the use of electricity before the war, that is if one had it.

We remember the discussions and quarrels that took place at home about saving electric power. Today, it seems to me, with the present rate for electric power, arguments of this kind are limited to a very few households. But every additional 60-watt lamp used at home is equal to an additional 63 kilogrammes of coal a year; a 500-watt street lamp uses 1,100 kilogrammes of coal a year. We do want the homes and streets to be light, but we cannot and must not tolerate waste.

We are glad that the number of radios, television sets, washing machines is increasing. But we must remember that every newly installed television set must be supplied with an additional 250 kilogrammes of coal a year. Last year, the population purchased almost 350,000 new television sets. That is all to the good. But over 80,000 tons of coal must be allocated each year to provide the sets with electric power.

Housing construction is developing apace in the urban and

rural areas. In 1961, over 400,000 rooms, with a floor space of 7.5 million square metres, were handed over for occupancy; about 350,000 tons of coal are necessary to provide heat for that area. But we must remember that along with housing construction, new housing developments, houses, apartments, and the electrification of farms there is a growing demand for electric power.

The demand for electric power for household use has increased more than threefold in the last decade. It is clear that the consumption of coal also rises. Social consciousness of these facts must lead to rigorous economy of coal, light and gas. There is no other alternative. Otherwise our country, the country of coal, will be up against great difficulties.

Today, Poland is not only a country of coal that was sold in the past exclusively as a raw material. Today, it is a country of expanding industry, of a growing number of houses, a rising consumption of coal, electric power and other fuels. That is why economy in this field is an absolute necessity in the interest of the further development of the country's economy.

Let us examine the price of coal sold to the population for fuel. The population pays 250 zlotys for a ton of coal, or 165 zlotys less than industry where the purchase price had long ago been increased. The state must pay an additional 165 zlotys for each ton of coal purchased by the population. The state must also pay an average of 26 groszy for each kilowatt-hour of electricity used by the urban population, and 29 groszy for each kilowatt-hour used by the rural population.

This whole arrangement is unequal and unjust: the more electric power one uses, the more wasteful one's use of electricity, the more the state is forced to pay. And the money must come out of the pockets of the entire population.

Due to the low price of hard coal, it is used even in those regions of the country where for many past decades the

comparatively well-off population had used only brown coal which was mined locally, or only brown coal binder.

This situation cannot be tolerated any longer. The government has been considering for some time how to solve this difficult problem. The great strain upon the fuel balance, multiplied by the critical effect of the winter, makes it impossible to put off any longer a price reform. The motive behind this reform is by no means the desire to produce profits at all costs or to give the state an additional income. No such ideas entered our minds, for we understand not only the difficulties faced by the state but also the difficulties experienced by a large portion of the population.

The basic problem is to save coal. The way to achieve this is to establish prices which would induce economy. In the rural area, or at least in a part of it, cheaper fuel may be used to a greater extent, as for instance brown coal, peat, tree stumps and brushwood. The urban and rural population can economize more on electricity, and as far as fuel is concerned — do a better job of calking the windows and doors in preparation for the winter. This was a common practice in the past, while today only the more thrifty inhabitants do so. Industry should provide the population with a sufficient quantity of fuel-saving coal furnaces and stoves. People should be encouraged to repair their stoves. More economical electric bulbs should also be used. Therefore, the government's decision to raise the price of fuel and electric power should be construed exclusively as an obvious necessity to combat waste in the consumption of coal, gas and electricity.

In order to achieve this economy, the government has decided to raise the price of hard coal to 500 zlotys a ton and brown coal to 126 zlotys a ton. The price of coke, peat and wood as well as rates for electricity and gas will also be raised. The rate for electricity is fixed at 90 groszy per kilowatt-hour, with

the exception of some regions of Silesia and Łódź where the rate will be raised only to 60 groszy per kilowatt-hour. There, the old rate, too, was lower than in other cities.

The rate for electricity for the rural population will be raised to 1.20 zlotys for the first 30 kilowatt-hours and 90 groszy for each additional kilowatt-hour, so as not to check the mechanization and electrification of the farms.

The price of gas has been fixed at 90 groszy per cubic metre, with the exception of certain regions in Silesia and Łódź where the rate will be 50 groszy per cubic metre, that is a rise in proportion to the old rate.

The price of firewood and stumps will be raised to the same extent. The prices for firebrush and branches collected and carried from the forest by the buyers will not be altered.

The charge of 1.50 zlotys for each kilowatt-hour exceeding the hitherto fixed norm will be discontinued. A night rate has been introduced amounting to 40 groszy per kilowatt-hour. This step was taken to induce consumers to use electricity after the peak hours. This will give a great saving in the consumption of electric power.

The minimum monthly electricity charge and the charge for the bill collector will be made uniform on the present level.

The rate for central heating and for hot water will be established by the People's Councils in accordance with the increase in the price of fuel. The new prices will go into effect on June 1st. The monthly rate for central heating will run from 1.80 zlotys to 3.20 zlotys and for hot water up to 90 groszy per square metre of floor space. If the present rate for central heating is more than 3.20 zlotys and for hot water more than 90 groszy per square metre, there will be no change in prices.

Raising the price of coal, electricity and gas, the government, in agreement with the Central Council of the Trade Unions,

has also taken measures to compensate the population for this raise.

After all, we were not concerned with profit for the state, but with adjusting prices so that they would induce the population to economize on coal and electric power.

In agriculture, to compensate the peasants, the purchase prices of some slaughter animals and poultry will be raised. The prices of bacon pigs will be raised by 90 groszy per kilogramme, of fat-and-meat hogs by 80 groszy per kilogramme, of contracted chickens by 50 groszy per kilogramme, of pigs — both contracted and not — by 40 groszy per kilogramme.

The non-agricultural population (hence employed in industrial enterprises and social institutions in the cities and countryside) will pay an additional 2,800,000,000 zlotys for coal, electricity and gas. The government has allocated 3,100 million zlotys to compensate the working population and pensioners.

We tried to distribute the money as justly as possible. The appropriation covers by a wide margin the losses suffered by the population. But as far as individual workers are concerned, some will gain while others will lose in this operation.

I wanted to make this clear to everyone.

We wish to protect the lowest income groups from the eventual unfavourable effects of the rise in prices. People living in smaller flats will bear a smaller burden, and if several members of the family are working then they may even gain a bit.

We decided not to compensate the losses of people in the highest income bracket, over 5,000 zlotys a month.

Of the total of 3,100 million zlotys, we assign 2,200 million zlotys to lower the income tax. Incomes up to 1,000 zlotys a month will be exempt from tax. The income tax for the major part of the population will be reduced by an average of 27-28 zlotys per month. In cases where the income was already tax



free, that is in the group earning up to 850 zlotys a month, the wage will be increased by the same 27 zlotys per month. At the same time the lowest wages are raised to 750 zlotys per month. Altogether, the government has allocated 250 million zlotys to raise the wages of the lowest income groups. To compensate for the increase in the price of coal, pensions will be raised by 20 zlotys a month. A total of 247 million zlotys is allocated for this purpose.

Similarly the salaries of officers, non-commissioned officers and militiamen will be raised proportionately (by 30 zlotys a month).

Coal allowances occupy an important position in the coal balance. The allowances of coal, as we know, are given to miners, railroad workers, foundrymen and employees of certain other branches of the economy. We would not wish to change the amount of the allowance for workers who support families. However coal allowances of single persons and persons living in flats with central heating are higher than necessary and much higher than the fuel norms established for workers who do not receive coal allowances. We have therefore decided to lower the allowances for single persons to 1.2 tons a year and to lower the allowance for persons who live in flats with central heating.

Actually this is justifiable, because at one time the allowances were conceived as fuel to be used in heating homes.

In connection with the rise in the price of coal, the prices paid for allowances turned over to the state will also be raised and the money allowance paid in the textile and clothing industry will likewise be increased. The population will thus receive 335 million zlotys.

The operation, whose principles I have explained, is difficult primarily because, although in many cases the equivalent in money compensated will be greater than the increase in the

price of coal, electricity and gas, in a certain portion of the families the equivalent will not cover the losses, as for instance in the case of a large family living in a large flat and with only one person employed.

We have tried — and this must be obvious to the deputies — to find the most just way of fixing the amount of the equivalent, but exact equalization was unfortunately impossible. However, regulation of the urgent and pressing matter of the price of household coal, electricity and gas will give us a saving in coal, and, consequently, will strengthen the basis of our economy and create better prospects for it. Details of the entire regulation project will be published in a communiqué.

We appeal to the whole population to understand the imperativeness of this decision and to meet it halfway by economizing on coal, electricity and gas.

In this manner every citizen of the country can contribute in the effort to overcome the difficulties in our coal and power economy.

The price operation regarding fuel coal is an isolated operation connected exclusively with the problem of economizing on coal and electricity. We do not intend and do not foresee any other price changes.

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*Honourable Members of the Seym!*

I have already spoken about the many serious difficulties caused by the severe and long winter and about the painful necessary conclusions that must be drawn in some cases.

How, in this connection, do we evaluate the activity of the government, administrative agencies and management during the period of critical winter difficulties?

On the one hand, it should be noted as an undoubted

achievement that the management of our national economy was operative, imaginative and did not stint effort. A comparison with other European countries which were affected by the severe winter, is not unfavourable to us.

On the other hand, however, there were instances of insufficient preparation for this kind of difficulty, delay in taking preventive measures, and cases of dillydallying and red tape on the part of some agencies.

It should also be said that the experience of the past winter revealed the weakness in such vital fields as railway transportation, which had existed and grew more acute over a period of years. Realizing that it is impossible to overcome this weakness without additional capital investments, we must decide to take this unavoidable step.

Praise is due to the effort of millions of workers, of the youth, the officers and soldiers of our armed forces, employees of trade and purchase agencies, the health service and communications services, as well as to the social discipline of the overwhelming majority of the population which joined forces in fighting the adversity of winter and in the continuing fight against the threat of floods.

We witnessed not only self-sacrifice, discipline and readiness, but also numerous examples of real sacrifice and courage.

The picture is not altered by the fact that there are individuals who feel that the path to their backdoor would be cleared by the state. In these instances, the National Front should instruct the citizens and, if necessary, the authorities should intervene.

On the whole, however, despite the opinion of pessimists, the hard days demonstrated that our population is attaining civic maturity, that as time passes important social changes take place in the attitude of our citizens. This is undoubtedly an important asset on which we may rely today, at a time when



our principal objective is to make up the losses and to carry out the tasks facing us.

Winter is drawing to a close. But it leaves in its wake a backlog in various fields of production, an additional burden of expenditures, a sizeable backlog in the transportation of all kinds of raw materials, semi-finished goods and manufactured commodities, and a serious lag in construction and agriculture. All these factors determine the direction of our tasks and the hierarchy of their importance.

Let us start with the most important issues. For the first time in our post-war development, industrial production has failed to show any noticeable increase. The operational plans of production for the first two months, lower than first estimated by the national economic plan, were fulfilled only by 97.5 per cent.

According to an estimate in market prices, the losses shape up in the following manner in the separate branches: in the enterprises coming under the Ministry of Heavy Industry — 1,600 million zlotys, Ministry of Chemistry — 600 million zlotys, Building and Building Materials Industry — 500 million zlotys, Forestry and the Lumber Industry — 300 million zlotys, Light Industry — 100 million zotys, and Food and Purchase Industry — 500 million zlotys. These losses pertain to many important products and semi-manufactures, such as sulphuric acid, soda, chlorine, phenol, synthetic rubber, cement, bricks, roof tiles, paper and others.

To put it simply — considering the fact that the plan for the current year provides for a 5 per cent increase in over-all industrial production, we are starting to carry out this task with a delay of two months. This would not be an unsurmountable difficulty were it not for the difficulties in branches of industry with continuous production and also in those branches in which the possibilities are limited by the production capacity of the

installations. Shortages of raw material may be expected in other branches of industry.

Furthermore, the harsh winter also hindered construction work on new investment projects. The total value of capital investment work was 1,300 million zlotys lower in January than for the same month in the previous year. The most important task of the building trades workers and investment enterprises is to make an all-out effort to close the gap in the allotted time.

One point must be made clear — under no circumstances should this task be solved by relaxing financial and organizational rules.

We have the following example. In January, the employment figures in construction enterprises were over 6 per cent above the figure for the preceding year, despite the effort made to reduce employment, and production fell by 36 per cent. We shall investigate the reasons for this condition.

Is it possible to make up the winter losses in production and construction? Yes, it is possible. In the course of nine months it is possible to make up the lag in production designated for export and for the home market. With certain adjustments in the investment and construction plan it will also be possible to make up a considerable part of the backlog in the building industry.

Among the investment projects, we must pay special attention to the sinking of shafts for hard coal and the development of brown coal mines so that a few years from now we will not have the question: "Poland, a country of coal, why then is there a coal shortage?" We must continue to work on the opening of new mines and new extracting levels without let-up and without falling behind.

The lag in the construction of chemical plants producing for agriculture must be made up at all cost (not financial but by

greater efficiency), for every delay, whether it be in the production of fertilizer or chemicals, retards the rate of increase in farm production. This also holds true in the case of the construction of the oil pipeline and the first stage of construction of the oil refinery in Plock. Of no less importance is the fulfilment of the objectives in the construction plan for agriculture, particularly for the State Farms.

An effort must be made to carry out the plan in the construction of schools and to advance as much as possible in the construction of housing. The government is working on a programme of indispensable measures that must be taken in this field.

The government has also instructed its departments to work out an exact schedule for making up the losses and delays incurred so that the tasks for 1963 would be carried out fully and well. The programmes are now being drafted and analyzed by the central planning agencies.

The revised plans indicate that with the proper organization of work and effort of the employees, the lag may be made up in such items as basic metallurgical products, iron, non-ferrous metals, pesticides, plastics, dyes and lacquers, rubber products, timber and paper, durable consumer goods and foodstuffs.

But once again it is necessary to warn against the tendency to disregard the economic and financial side in making up the production lag. We frequently meet with the unwarranted demand for an increase in employment and in the wage fund, and even for additional imports. It is true that the specific conditions of the present work of industry may call for a certain increase in employment, that such requirements may have to be taken into consideration. But it is exceedingly important that this be confined within rational bounds, that it do not exceed the possibilities of our national economy and that it be strictly controlled. We shall oppose any pressure. It is

not a question of making up the losses at any cost, which would only increase the losses, but of production based on rational economic grounds. It is obvious that even with the greatest effort certain objectives of this year's plan for industrial production will not be fully obtained, particularly in industries which cannot increase their production capacity. The same applies to certain farm products, which will naturally entail some disruption in other branches of the economy, in supplies for the home market and in foreign trade.

These are the reasons why upon careful analysis it may be found necessary to lower some targets of the economic plan for 1963 in certain branches of the economy.

A few words about transportation. In this field, in addition to the urgent measures already put into effect, of which I have already spoken, a large increase in the investment outlays is provided for over and above the provisions originally contained in the Five-Year Plan.

Industry is faced with the task of speeding up the production of Diesel locomotives of 800 H.P. and of stepping up the supply of rolling stock, particularly of the 60-ton coal cars which are more economical for transporting coal and which at the same reduce congestion on the lines and sidings. In a word, they are more modern. Unfortunately, we still do not have enough of such cars, and this was one of the difficulties which compounded and added to the critical situation in which the Katowice junction found itself during the hard winter.

We have purchased additional locomotives from the Soviet Union and have taken steps to speed up the supply of traction equipment for the railways, particularly Diesel engines. Steps are being taken to increase the volume of freight handled by motor transport and inland water transport. Strict regard must be paid to the priority of tasks in the operation of the

transportation system. At present, precedence must be given to supplies for agriculture.

The difficulties and losses left in the wake of the long and hard winter, the most severe we had ever witnessed, were not suffered by Poland alone. Other Socialist countries have suffered equally this winter, as did the whole of Europe. For example, the President of the Federal Union of German Industry, Mr. Fritz Berg, stated in an address devoted to the economic situation of West Germany on March 25:

"The severe winter has left a deep mark on the development of industry and the structure of public funds. We are certain that all the Ministers of Finance and Treasurers will have to spend a lot of money in the next few months to make up for the serious losses in our economic structure. It is also certain that the changes in the structure of costs caused by the frost will not remain without an effect upon the calculation of prices by businessmen."

We know from reports about the rise in prices on certain articles in Austria, about the rationing of water, about the increase in coal consumption in the Common Market countries, about schools closed down in the West, about the increase in the cost of living in France by about 4 per cent, in the German Federal Republic by 4.5 per cent, and so on.

Why do I speak of this? Because it is gratifying that others too are in difficulty? No. I speak of this because, on the one hand, all the difficulties must not be explained by the bad harvest, lack of rain or the severe winter. Nor do we do this. But, on the other hand, we should not underestimate the effect of natural disasters on temporary difficulties. If natural disasters have affected the economy of wealthy countries, countries with reserves, then what can be said of our country which is in the process of construction and therefore working under a very strained balance.

Meanwhile, during the December debate one of the members of the Sejm took quite a light view of the bad harvest and loudly declared that our economy cannot develop from one good harvest to another. We must realize that advocacy of complete independence from nature is premature even in countries that are very highly developed, not to speak of our country which is in the process of development, which has a tight budget and, unfortunately, very small reserves. We are and will continue to be opposed to unrealistic planning and the adaptation of our economic targets to such planning, that is planning for a bumper crop and the kind of winter enjoyed by the Riviera.

It should be added, that our agriculture will continue to grow more resistant and will defend the level of the harvests by a constant growth of production and the use of fertilizers, pesticides and a higher standard of agrotechny. That is the goal toward which we are moving by making large investment outlays, the goal of an economy impervious to the surprises that nature may have in store for it.

We are all anxious to make the economy more resistant, but this must go hand in hand with further economic development of the country, with a certain minimum of reserves; in other words, it can be achieved only in the course of our process of development and not from one year to another. As far as the partial resistance of agriculture to the surprises of nature is concerned, it can be said that the preceding year provided sufficient proof. The harvest would have been even worse had it not been for the organized, though still insufficient, assistance of chemistry to agriculture.

The measures concerning agriculture formulated in the resolution of the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PUPP and in the subsequent government decisions, constitute a long-range realistic programme for making



agriculture more resistant to sudden difficulties. One of the elements of this programme, designed to ensure the achievement of this objective, is the spending of an additional 9,000 million zlotys in the course of three years for investment projects.

The objective is to speed up the development of the production of fodder by industry and to shift from the feeding-stuffs now produced to feed with a higher content of protein.

The objective is to increase capital investments on State Farms, to improve their productivity, to give greater assistance to peasant farms in the form of selected seeds, seed potatoes and breeding stock. The objective is to raise the level of farming as a whole.

We have taken steps to increase the supply of fertilizer and to enlarge the factories producing fertilizers. We are expanding the plant in Kędzierzyn and building another in Puławy; new factories are going up, among these, the Tarnów-2 plant and the superphosphate plant in Tarnobrzeg. We are increasing investments for the production of plant-protecting agents and the production and broader application of lime fertilizer for neutralizing acid soil. The seed programme is being carried out on a broader scale: about 30 per cent of the seed is being exchanged for selected seed.

Efficient organization of the spring sowing campaign, a job that will determine this year's harvest, is of concern not only to farmers and farm workers but also to factories producing equipment and chemicals for agriculture, to transportation and to the suppliers of fertilizer and plant-protection agents; it involves an efficient exchange of seed and effective technical assistance. Hence a task for the whole nation.

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As I have already stated, in accordance with the recommendations put forth by the Seym, we have taken a number

of decisions designed to evoke greatest interest on the part of industry in exports, primarily in raising the quality of goods for export and in improving salesmanship and services.

It is a known fact that our foreign trade is showing a more rapid rise in turnover, particularly in our trade with the Socialist countries. But at the same time we are facing mounting difficulties in this field because of failure to fulfil the plan for the export of machines and equipment. Last year, the volume of this type of export was 8 per cent lower than provided for by the Five-Year Plan, and export to capitalist countries was 16.5 per cent lower than planned.

Surmounting of the difficulties in foreign trade depends on us. The situation on foreign markets is such that it places no major obstacles in the way of sales. But we must have the goods, and of high quality at that.

The successful trade negotiations conducted with foreign countries this year and the signing of many agreements, favourable to both sides, enhanced this situation.

As the members of the Sejm know, Poland has frequently urged the speeding up of work designed to broaden economic cooperation between the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon). It must be admitted that the Council has become more active of late, but this is only the beginning. The large number of economic and trade agreements signed in the recent period indicate the development of our economic relations with our Socialist partners, particularly with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic.

We attach great importance to coordination of the over-all plans — and are taking concrete steps — for the economic development of the Comecon countries in the most important fields of production for the next Five-Year Plan and over a period up to 1980.



We have also taken steps toward coordinating the basic investment projects planned for the period following 1963. But, actually, we are only at the initial stage — the bulk of the work is still ahead of us.

As far as our relations with capitalist countries are concerned, in the past period, we have often given expression to our desire to establish these relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence. We base our economic relations with the capitalist countries on the principle of mutual benefit and equality; we are in favour of freedom of international trade. Unfortunately, this freedom is not served by the so-called process of economic integration within the framework of the Common Market, involving a number of countries in the West.

This institution was founded as an instrument of political and economic domination of the most powerful international concerns and monopolies in Europe over the weaker partners and economically less developed countries. The Common Market leads to discrimination in trade and broadens the division in the world market. In our concern for a healthy development of international economic relations, we come out against integration, which is a measure of trade discrimination not only against the Socialist countries but also against the newly liberated countries and those that are undergoing economic development. Moreover, we want to make the greatest possible contribution to the preparations for the World Trade Conference which is to take place next year.

The results of negotiations conducted with a number of West European countries should be regarded as favourable. The possibilities for a greater volume of trade resulting from these agreements can be exploited not only for the sale of raw materials and farm products but also of industrial goods — machines and equipment. On the condition, however, that we

assure high-quality products, efficiency in production for export and operativeness on the part of the foreign trade agencies.

Recently, a trade agreement was signed between Poland and the German Federal Republic, which broadens economic exchange between the two countries. We are pleased with the treaty — it is to the benefit of both sides. This fact does not of course alter our basic attitude that the condition for a complete normalization of relations and for exchanging diplomatic representatives between Poland and the German Federal Republic, is the Federal Republic's recognition of the western frontier on the Odra and the Nysa and resignation from revenge-seeking policies.

*Honourable Members of the Sejm!*

The export tasks and the demands of our foreign buyers are the most severe and, at the same time, the most objective evaluation of technological progress in the national economy, a controlling factor of our efforts in this field. Technological progress, as was made evident by the discussion in the Sejm last year, is a pre-condition for higher productivity, lower production costs and better management.

Speaking of the tasks ahead of us, of the tasks facing the government it must be admitted that the many months of grappling with the hardships of winter have pushed this year's plan for technological progress into the background, temporarily anyway, in a number of factories. The government is in the possession of many facts which indicate that the funds allocated for this purpose are not properly used. In many factories the problem of technological progress has disappeared under a deluge of current troubles. Yet, at times, the solution of technical problems should actually help in solving current difficulties. By neglecting technological progress, we would be straying from the main road of our development and would

definitely be affecting the outcome of all our work. The neglect of past years is already showing its effect. We have spoken of this.

The question of applying the achievements of technological progress will be taken up by the government. It is also necessary to take note of the connection between the retardation of technological progress and the burden of economically unwarranted, excessive inventories that weigh on our economy. This problem, actually a whole complex of problems, was sharply reflected in the debates of the Seym. The government is in the process of working out and putting into effect major decisions in this regard. These decisions are related to the changes in planning and in the scheme of economic incentives. The aim is to place effective barriers to the manufacture of products that no one needs with the sole purpose of fulfilling the over-all production plan, and to limit the production of goods that are not in demand.

We want to make sure that industrial production will be better adapted to demand. We are guided by the principle that an adjustment of the wage fund upward will be possible primarily in the production of articles going for export. We want to disassociate the bonus fund from the fulfilment of the over-all production plan, so that it would not constitute an encouragement to the production of expensive articles, and to make the bonus fund contingent upon the assortment of the production plan. In some of the branches of industry, we are considering the possibility of finding a different basis for planning the wage fund and for establishing economic incentives other than the gross value of production. We shall extend the practice, already accepted in certain branches of industry, of using the value of manufacturing as a measure for planning the wage fund. All this should create conditions for greater

concern on the part of industry for the needs of the buyers and for satisfying the actual needs of the national economy.

What is the situation on the home market? Retail workers undoubtedly made an all-out effort in the hard winter months to keep the population supplied, and they were successful in this. We are satisfying the national demand for flour, bread, sugar, cereals, jams, marmalade, milk, margarine and other foodstuffs. The disruption in the supply of dairy products and eggs, as I have said, was closely connected with the severe winter.

Due to the fact that we accumulated large supplies in the fall of last year, we have, by and large, a sufficient quantity of vegetables. We are also comparatively well stocked with most of the industrial products.

Discipline and efficiency in the purchase of farm products will to a great extent determine the supply on the home market, and in the second half of the year the supply will depend on the harvest. If the harvest is better than in the preceding year, we should have larger quantities of food essentials, particularly butter, cream and cheese. Despite the fairly effective assistance given to agriculture in the form of fodders, a certain drop in the number of pigs may cause some difficulties in the supply of meat and meat products in the third quarter. An improvement in the fourth quarter depends above all on the new harvest.

*Honourable Members of the Sejm!*

Everything said so far, proves beyond all doubt that we must work better and more energetically than we did in previous years. By better work I mean more rational, more efficient and more effective work, and also greater discipline. At each level, it is necessary to prepare proposals and take decisions more quickly, to do away with the excessive number of conferences

and meetings, some of which give no results and do not produce any conclusions or decisions. We must encourage initiative; we must uproot all aversion to taking decisions, aversion stemming from the desire to play safe, so as to increase the sense of responsibility for the entrusted work and for its results.

Concreteness in economic activity, operativeness, the ability to make decisions should not signify the weakening of the collective form of management — the role of workers' self-governments, or the stifling of honest, anti-bureaucratic criticism which is always in place, particularly in view of the shortcomings in our work. The national economy and the work establishment are not a tramway where the passengers are not allowed to talk to the conductor. The development of the national economy involves the effort of millions of people, and in each work establishment is the concern of all the employees. A frank discussion of current economic tasks is necessary at the present time, and one of the measures of every economic leader must be his ability to work with all people of good will and to make use of their knowledge and experience.

As far as the work of the government is concerned, I should like to point out that the number of representatives of the economic sciences who participate in the work of the government and its various agencies as well as in the People's Councils, is increasing with each year. A confrontation of views of economic leaders and those of representatives of the economic sciences should take place regularly and should be based on the work of the existing and developing research units and on their practical experience; it should be based on scientific councils, groups and commissions set up to work out proposals and submit opinions regarding major aspects of economic policy. In line with their specialty and knowledge, we want them to play an even greater part in studying the basic problems of our economy.

This concerns the theory and practice of planning, the management of fixed assets and circulating capital, organization of production and management, and economics of industry, building and agriculture.

Plans are being drafted to set up a body of economic advisors in the Office of the Council of Ministers, and to work out forms whereby the most outstanding economists may participate on a permanent basis in the central discussions on the most general aspects of our economy. Our concern is to organize in the best way possible confrontations between views of government officials and scientists, to organize co-reports on given projects. Aside from this, a permanent commission has been established under Professor Secomski, which is to guarantee a more rapid development of research in the field of industrial economics and the proper application of these studies.

This style, both operative and democratic, is necessary in order to cope with the mounting tasks; it is necessary on all levels, particularly in work establishments where the conferences of workers' self-governments now taking place can, I'm sure, give advice and help in the solution of the principal difficulties and major tasks of the work establishments.

We appeal to the working class, to the peasants, to the technical intelligentsia, to the civil servants employed in the state and economic administration, to the People's Councils and to the entire political and social active for a conscious effort and sacrifice, for work in the spirit of those who waged the battle against the severe winter; we appeal for continuation of the good, constructive and patriotic spirit which this winter won the battle for maintaining the position of our economy and protected us in every sector from being catapulted into chaos and disorganization.



*Honourable Members of the Sejm!*

Along with the work to surmount these difficulties, along with our activity for the all-round development of our country, was our unstinting effort to secure the peaceful labour of our country. We strengthened the defence capacity of our People's State, cooperating closely with the members of the Warsaw Pact. Together with the community of Socialist states, we carried on activity in the international arena on behalf of peaceful coexistence, for the solution of controversial problems by negotiations, for the strengthening of cooperation and peace in Europe and the whole world.

The keystone of our policies, the basis for the security of our boundaries and sovereignty is the fraternal friendship and cooperation, based on common ideological principles, with the Soviet Union, with our closest neighbours, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, and with the whole Socialist camp.

We have broadened our relations with neutral and newly liberated nations, making contact with many countries of Africa and establishing diplomatic and economic relations with these countries. Our experts and scientists, doctors and engineers are contributing toward the solution of problems of these young states and by their demeanour and exemplary attitude toward their duties are winning the respect of this part of the world for Poland.

At the United Nations and on every possible occasion Poland comes out for the speedy liquidation of colonialism in all its forms. Last year, we greeted with joy and satisfaction the end of the bloody battle waged by the people of Algeria, which was crowned by the establishment of an independent state. While solidarizing ourselves with the struggle of nations to throw off the colonial yoke, to strengthen their independence, we speak



out against the persecution of progressive forces that is taking place in some countries. We feel that this kind of action can be of advantage only to imperialism and colonialism.

An expression of the broadening of our relations with the countries of Latin America was the exchange of visits between Mr. Dantas, at that time Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, who visited our country, and our Minister of Foreign Affairs, Adam Rapacki, who paid a return visit to Brazil. These visits indicated a similarity in the views of both our countries on a number of international problems and contributed to the development of mutually profitable economic relations.

It is fitting to say a few words about my recent visit to Mexico. We were accorded a warm and friendly welcome by President Lopez Mateos and the Mexican government, and the talks with Mexican statesmen showed that there is a great similarity in the views of Poland and Mexico on a number of international issues, particularly as regards the concept of peaceful coexistence, the problem of total and general disarmament, and the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

Observance of the last principle is exceedingly important because of the situation in the region of the Caribbean Sea where the adventurist circles of imperialism are not giving up their hostile machinations against Cuba, actions which are a threat to peace and into which they are trying to draw the Latin American countries.

We are expecting President Lopez Mateos in Poland in a few days. This visit will make for still closer relations with Mexico.

We consider Minister Rapacki's visit to India very important and useful.

Not long ago, the king of Laos and the Premier of the Lao-tian government visited Poland. The talks conducted with these statesmen will undoubtedly lead to greater mutual

understanding, friendship and cooperation between Poland and Laos; it is known that our country is taking part in the Geneva conference on Laos and is a member of the International Supervisory and Control Commission in Laos. We consider the peaceful solution of the problem of Laos and the resolution guaranteeing the neutrality and independence of that country as proof and an encouraging example of the possibility to solve difficult international problems by means of negotiations and sensible compromises. In the implementation of the Geneva agreement we see an important factor for the lessening of tension in the world.

In the past period, we considerably broadened not only our economic and cultural relations with many European countries but also our political contacts which are valuable for an exchange of views and mutual understanding. An example of such contacts was my last visit to Rome on my return trip from Mexico and my talks there.

As indicated in my talks with Premier Fanfani and other statesmen, there are many points on which Poland and Italy see eye to eye, despite the fact that our countries belong to different political camps.

The development of our bilateral economic relations must give rise to satisfaction. The constructive character of our foreign policy, the initiative directed toward the solution of controversial issues by negotiation, on the basis of a realistic evaluation of the existing balance of forces — all these facts are responsible for Poland's growing prestige in the international arena.

Although the past period was not an easy one in international affairs, yet it gives hope for optimistic prospects for the future.

In that period we witnessed the crisis in the region of the Caribbean Sea. In October of last year, due to the aggres-

sive actions of American imperialism, the world stood on the brink of nuclear war. Thanks to the sense of responsibility for peace on the part of the Soviet government and personally on the part of Premier Khrushchov, the crisis was allayed, and heroic Cuba, with whom we stood together in those critical days, maintained her independence. Due to the wisdom of the Soviet Union, common sense took the upper hand in the attitude of the U.S. government, although, unfortunately, attempts are still being made on the part of certain American circles to revert to aggressive policy.

The fact that one of the most dangerous crises that we have experienced in the post-war period ended in victory for peace and demonstrated that the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of countries is the basic condition of peaceful coexistence, can inspire us with optimism. The incident demonstrated that the forces of peace are more powerful than the forces of war, lending support to the principal thesis of the Moscow Declaration of 1960 which states that imperialism can no longer be all-powerful in deciding the destiny of nations and that war is not inevitable.

The Cuban crisis also revealed to public opinion the urgent need for the solution of controversial problems and for dealing immediately with all the potential trouble spots that threaten war.

One of the key problems to world peace is the German problem which has not yet been solved 18 years after the end of the war. We have frequently expressed our concern because this problem contains the dangerous seed of war planted in the very heart of Europe, hence in that part of the world where the conflict may bear incalculable consequences. We have also frequently drawn attention to the fact that the policy of the Western powers, which by strengthening the military potential of the Bundeswehr encourages the revenge-

seeking forces of the German Federal Republic, constitutes a threat to peace.

The events of the last months, and above all the effort made by the German Federal Republic to gain access to atomic weapons, proved once again that we were right, corroborated our warning that the danger of the spreading of atomic weapons, despite the denials on the part of the Western statesmen, is becoming very real, since the door to the death-bearing arsenals of atomic weapons is being opened wide for the West German politicians and generals, either through what is called the multi-national nuclear force or through the bilateral agreement between Bonn and Paris.

Our critical and negative attitude to the creation of the Bonn-Paris axis found expression in diplomatic intervention. We pointed out that the strengthening of German militarism is contrary to the interests of all the European nations, including, of course, the interests of the French people.

Significant is the fact that while the product of Poland's foreign policy is the concept of creating an atom-free zone in central Europe as a partial solution that will pave the way for total and general disarmament, a concept described as the first step toward disarmament, the efforts of the Bonn government, the chief opponent of the atom-free zone, are directed toward obtaining atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr by means of a multi-national force or through bilateral agreements. The idea of equipping the warships of the German Federal Republic with Polaris missiles and the right of Bonn to share in the decision on the use of these weapons, are considered by the militarist circles of Federal Germany as the first step toward obtaining atomic weapons. These are the two opposing "first steps," ours toward disarmament and peace, theirs toward obtaining nuclear weapons.

Very many outstanding statesmen share our view. It is no accident that in the recent period the idea of the Polish plan crossed the boundaries of central Europe, and the interest in the concept of atom-free zones is taking on more and more concrete forms in Europe, in southern and northern Asia, in South America and Africa, and at the Geneva disarmament conference.

We are alarmed and indignant at the nuclear explosions conducted by France in the Sahara. This act has evoked many protests from the African countries. This explosion will complicate negotiations to put an end to tests of thermonuclear devices and to ban the use of these weapons.

On many occasions Polish public opinion voiced the need for an agreement on this issue. Unfortunately, because of the opposition of the cold-war forces the question of banning nuclear tests remains at a standstill, and this despite the big concessions made by the Soviet Union which agreed to the principle of inspection of underground testing. It is clear that the negative attitude of the government of the United States, which again and again puts forth new conditions, makes it difficult to reach an agreement on this issue. A non-aggression pact between the member-states of the Warsaw Pact and the NATO countries would also serve to ease international tension. Such a pact would increase mutual trust and would open up prospects for other fruitful agreements.

General and total disarmament is at present one of the central problems facing the world. Public opinion is becoming more and more conscious of the fact that it is necessary to put an end to the armaments race. The prospect of total disarmament gives rise to hope that the tremendous economic and financial resources going for arms will instead be directed to human needs.

In line with its foreign policy, Poland takes a constructive

position on these issues at all times. We are taking part in the disarmament talks of the 18 countries in Geneva. We contribute to the peaceful activity of the U.N. which we consider an important forum for the solution of many international problems by way of negotiation. In order to ensure that this organization becomes a more effective body, we demand that it adheres to the principle of universality, and above all demand that the People's Republic of China be accorded its due rights in the United Nations.

During my visit to New York, I met with the Secretary General of the U.N. Mr. U Thant, who as we remember, contributed quite a bit to the solution of the Cuban crisis. My conversation with Mr. U Thant permitted us to renew our contact established during his visit to Warsaw and provided an occasion for a profitable exchange of views on the aims and tasks of the U.N. at the present stage.

As before, Poland will give constructive support to the efforts of the U.N. which in accordance with the United Nations Charter, will be directed toward easing international tensions and maintaining peace.

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*Honourable Members of the Seym!*

In the past period, Poland's foreign policy stood out for its active stand on all international issues. Our activity in this field is the result of the aims of our nation and of the substance of our Socialist system whose goal is peace and the good of humanity. Translated into the practical language of political action, these principles signify that we are for peace — against war; for international cooperation — against all forms of discrimination; for disarmament — against the armaments race; for the easing of tensions — against the aggravation



of international relations; for the liberation struggle of subjugated nations — against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

It is as certain as the fact that the sun shines in the sky — and there is hardly any need for reassurances on our part — that Poland's foreign policy will continue, as it did in the past, to be indissolubly bound with the forces of progress and freedom, the forces of common sense and peace. This lies in the most vital interests of the existence, security and development of the Polish people. We can best serve these just causes by our daily work in all the sectors of Socialist construction, by a practical, persistent and well-organized effort of the whole nation for the fulfilment of this year's tasks. We must make up the losses and the lag caused by the winter. This is in the interest of the further development of our economy and in the interest of every citizen.

We appeal once again to everybody — to the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia, to men, women and youth, to the entire community, to all the leading bodies of the state and economic administration, and to the Party and social active — for consciousness and sacrifice in the fight for the successful carrying out of the tasks, for by doing so we shall create conditions for a speedier development of the production potential during the coming years and, at the same, lay the basis for a further increase in consumption and a higher living standard for the working people in Poland, and also advance the cause of our Socialist construction — a contribution toward strengthening our country, a contribution to peace and Socialism.



## ZENON KLISZKO

Member of the Political Bureau  
and Secretary of the CC of the PUWP

### SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING IN WARSAW TO MARK THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNION OF FIGHTING YOUTH

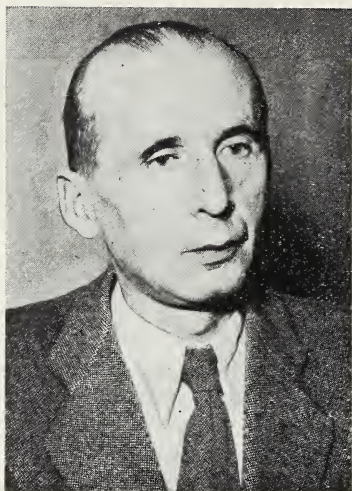
MARCH 11, 1963

*Dear Comrades and Friends,*

Twenty years ago, on the initiative of the Polish Workers' Party, a militant, revolutionary organization of Polish youth was born — the Union of Fighting Youth (UFY).

We have gathered here today to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the formation of the UFY and our thoughts go back to the times when this organization raised high its banner of struggle, to the years of the war, the occupation and the particularly cruel form of Nazi terror that raged in Poland. We cast our minds back to the time when, in the fire of battle and bloodshed, our young people covered the name of their organization with glory, becoming steeled in character and spirit; when, sacrificing their blood and their lives, they paved the way for the present day of the Polish nation, for the present day of the young generation.

Twenty years ago a life and death struggle was being waged for the freedom and independence of Poland, for national liberation, for a new tomorrow for the Polish nation, a tomorrow of social justice. This struggle was initiated, organized and directed by the Polish Workers' Party (PWP), the only party of the Polish people that showed the nation the right road to take in that historic period that was to bring such a momentous turn



ZENON KLISZKO

in the life of Poland and the world. Its loyal and brave son — the Union of Fighting Youth — marched in the front ranks of the fighters.

A whole historical epoch separates us from the time of the war. Today we have a free and independent Poland, and, under the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party, its people are busily engaged in peaceful Socialist construction. And again, alongside the Party, youth is marching in the first ranks — this time in the ranks of builders of Socialism.

By bringing into being the Union of Fighting Youth, the

Polish Workers' Party was not only showing its appreciation of the role and importance of the young people in the fight against the Nazis, its appreciation of youth's selflessness, dynamism and strength. The political idea of the Party went deeper and farther. The Party was thinking of the future, of the day when Poland would be liberated and independent, knowing full well that this future would, to a great extent, depend on the young generation. To shape the attitude and political outlook of the young generation in liberated Poland it was necessary to build a militant, revolutionary youth organization during the time of the occupation, an organization which in the course of the armed struggle against the Nazis would earn the right and moral justification to represent the young generation and to

organize it under its militant banner. And this is another good political reason for the formation of the Union of Fighting Youth, an organization which honourably fulfilled its role during the occupation period and thanks to this could make a big contribution in building the new Socialist life in liberated Poland, mobilizing hundreds of thousands of young people for this purpose.

The battle for the freedom and independence of the nation, for the liberation of Poland, took the foremost place in the activity of the Polish Workers' Party during the time of the war and Nazi occupation. This battle constituted the very essence of the life of the Union of Fighting Youth; it penetrated into the very bones of every one of its members.

On the eve of the formation of the UFY the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party published an appeal. It pointed to the key tasks of the young generation: opposition to the extermination policy of the Nazi occupation forces, development of armed resistance, and setting up of an organization for this purpose.

Very often, on various special occasions, we have stated the obvious truth that during the years of the occupation the Polish nation was directly exposed to the danger of biological destruction. It should be recalled that this danger was very great and that the nation suffered terrible losses at the hands of the Nazi murderers. After subduing Poland, the Nazi authorities started to work out a plan for the extermination of the Polish people, both in the Polish territories annexed to the Third Reich and in the region known as the Government General. This plan was carried out methodically and scrupulously. Millions of Poles were driven from their homes; men and women were taken to Germany for forced labor; the cultural riches of the country were plundered and burnt: but, worst of all, the best sons and daughters of our nation were

destroyed in concentration camps, executed in the streets and prisons and killed during pacification actions in villages and settlements. Out of the six million Polish citizens who were killed during the war only about 10 per cent died as a result of war hostilities; the rest were murdered by the Nazis methodically, according to plan.

The Nazis implemented in a most bestial fashion their plans for the complete extermination of the Jews. In April 1943 the Jewish population in Warsaw took up arms and waged a heroic fight against the final liquidation of the ghetto. Among those who were first to come to the assistance of the Jews fighting in the ghetto there were also young people from the UFY. They helped in getting arms into the ghetto, in evacuating the last groups of fighters from the ghetto, and some of them even took a direct part in the fighting there.

In their criminal plans for the Polish nation, the Nazi occupation authorities paid special attention to the young generation. As early as December 8th, 1939, the head of the Government General, Hans Frank, put forward a plan to destroy the Polish youth by mobilizing it for slave labour.

Wholesale arrests of young people from various sections of the population and also mass executions by firing squads were started during the first months of the occupation. The treatment of Polish youth was particularly brutal in the regions incorporated into the Third Reich. In August 1940, Gauleiter Greiser called upon the young Nazis in Łódź to organize pogroms on the Polish youth. Even earlier, hundreds of Polish boys and girls from Cieszyn Silesia were sent to a concentration camp in Radogoszcz and the blood of many young Poles was shed in Pomerania, the Poznań region and in Upper Silesia.

Young people were also the main victims of the Nazi scheme, launched during the first year of the occupation, for sending

Poles to Germany to work as slave labourers there. Up to September 1941, that is, during the first two years of the occupation, over a million persons were sent to Germany. The Poles accounted for over 50 per cent of all the people brought to the Reich for forced labour from other countries. Most of them were young people. For instance, among the 208,000 persons sent to Germany from the Cracow region, about 55 per cent were young people under twenty. Children were taken to the Reich for Germanization. It should be added that from among the more than 200,000 Polish children taken to Germany for this purpose, we have been able to get back only about 30,000.

The Nazi occupation authorities also deprived the youth of the possibility to study. Universities, colleges and secondary schools were closed, many professors and teachers were murdered and the teaching programme of the primary schools was limited to the very minimum essential for future slaves. "The ability to count up to 500, to write one's name, and the realization that obedience to the Germans is the will of God" — this is what Himmler recommended as education for Poles. The Nazis deprived the young people of their youth; education at school was replaced by forced labour in factories and on farms in the Reich; the school playground was replaced by parade grounds in concentration camps; a walk along the streets was substituted by being stood up against a wall and shot. During four months only, from October 1943 to February 1944, 444 girls and boys — fifteen to twenty-four years of age — were executed in the streets of Warsaw.

There was only one way to react to this direct threat to the life of the nation — to take up arms, to answer terror with terror. The armed action initiated and consistently conducted by the Polish Workers' Party was not only our contribution to the victory over the invaders but also constituted a self-

defence by the people against the Nazi terror. The armed struggle, the militant initiative, forced the Nazis to give up many of their schemes and extermination actions, checked the implementation of their criminal plans.

Two answers were given to the Polish community and its young people in reply to the question: What should be done to fight against the ruthless terror of the occupation authorities, against the biological threat to the nation?

The London group, which based its policy on the theory of "two enemies" and devoted its main efforts to preparations for taking over power in Poland again, answered: "Don't allow yourselves to be provoked, bide your time." The Polish Workers' Party answered: "Fight, organize self-defence, do everything possible to hasten the defeat of the invaders." And its answer was not limited to words.

In the armed action undertaken by the Party, by its armed forces — the People's Guard and the People's Army — the members of the Union of Fighting Youth played a very important part; from the very moment of its foundation the UFY mobilized the youth for self-defence and active struggle against the enemy.

The young people who joined the Union of Fighting Youth and the combatant organizations of the PWP, did not want to bide their time; among those coming to the UFY were also young members of the Home Army. They asked us for arms, which we ourselves did not have in sufficient quantities; they were eager to fight. The UFY called on the youth to form a joint front of the young generation, and reached out a brotherly hand of cooperation to the young people belonging to other organizations.

The Party never erased the political differences dividing us from the bourgeois groups, but was ready to cooperate with every grouping that wanted to fight against the Nazi



invaders. The principles and scope of this cooperation were formulated in the talks conducted in the first quarter of 1943 between representatives of the Central Committee of the PWP and representatives of the Home Delegation of the emigré government in London. We suggested cooperation in the struggle against the occupation forces, and the unification of all the active forces of the nation in an anti-Nazi front in view of the growing terror applied by the enemy and in view of the fact that the prospects of Poland being liberated by the Soviet Army were growing ever more realistic and ever nearer.

These talks did not bring the expected results; they were broken off by the London representatives. Instead of intensifying action against the Nazi invaders, the Chief Command of the Home Army and the Delegation stepped up their campaign against the PWP and the People's Guard, establishing an anti-Communist committee (known as *Antyk*) for this purpose. This mad and criminal action brought a bloody harvest. Members of the PWP and the People's Guard and their sympathizers were treacherously and brutally murdered.

We strongly condemned this fratricidal war that the extreme reactionaries tried to force us into even during the time of the occupation.

We also condemned the shedding of the blood of our nation and its youth for the sake of political folly or political crime. That is why we were against the call for an uprising in Warsaw at a time when it did not have the slightest chance of success, an uprising that was first and foremost to serve the political aim of enabling the bourgeois groups to seize power before the Soviet Army entered Warsaw. The launching of the uprising without reaching an understanding with the Soviet Army and the 1st Polish Army, at a time when the Germans had transferred several armoured divisions to the right bank of the Vistula and had grouped forces outside



Warsaw for a counter-attack, was a criminal, anti-national move. But when the fighting began, the Party and UFY called their members to the barricades and detachments of the People's Army fought side by side with the Home Army to the last moment of the uprising. The whole staff of the People's Army in Warsaw lost their lives in the uprising. A glorious chapter in the uprising was written by the *Czwartaki* Battalion, in which UFY leaders were fighting and which also included members of the Socialist Youth Union and a large group of young members of the Home Army who had come to the *Czwartaki* Battalion to take an active part in the fight against the Nazis.

Last year, in January, at a meeting devoted to the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Polish Workers' Party, Comrade Gomułka said that our nation had shed a sea of blood in the fight to liberate Poland from the Nazi yoke. Although this fight was directed by various political parties, the blood that was shed cannot be divided, it cannot be evaluated according to political criteria. Every soldier of the People's Army, the Home Army and the Peasant Battalions who took part in the fighting made his contribution to the defeat of Nazi Germany and to winning independence for our country — People's Poland. But it was only the PWP which worked out a correct concept of the national liberation struggle and consistently put it into practice, winning the support of other political and military organizations which, together with the PWP, set up the National Home Council. Life has proved and is still proving the correctness of this concept.

The history of the Polish nation of the last two centuries contains plenty of examples of great heroism and sacrifice in armed conflicts. But how often that heroism and sacrifice of our youth have been misused for aims that run counter to progress and the real interests of the nation. More than once

the blood of the nation has been spilled mindlessly and recklessly.

The national liberation struggle organized by the PWP during the occupation period was, for the first time in the modern history of our nation, guided by a consistently progressive social programme and by the political ideas of the vanguard of the working class, ideas that were mature and imbued with the spirit of full responsibility for the fate of the nation.

The Party not only gave the correct answer to the question of the youth as to what they should do during the years of the war and occupation. Its political programme also gave the nation and the youth an answer to the problem of how to build an independent Poland, how to live and work for it. When the country was still under Nazi occupation, the Union of Fighting Youth formulated the needs and tasks of the young generation for the time when independence had been won.

The Ideological Declaration of the UFY published in September 1943, was the only document of its kind drawn up by the young generation during the occupation. It showed that in the course of the struggle and as a result of self-education, the leaders of the UFY had raised their ideological and political level, had made a profound study of the conditions in which the young people lived and worked, had become well acquainted with their way of thinking and their reactions to the situation during the occupation and had gotten a true picture of their dreams of a free and independent Poland.

The young generation found its organizational, military and ideological creed in the Ideological Declaration. The UFY became a big youth organization. Thus, the adoption of the Declaration marked a big step forward in the development of the youth movement.

After the liberation of the country from Nazi occupation, the Union of Fighting Youth was again a devoted assistant to the

Party — this time in its work to rebuild the country and strengthen the framework of people's power. The young people belonging to the Union made a big contribution to all the undertakings and successes of the country during the first post-war years. They participated in the division of landed estates and helped in the work of rebuilding Warsaw and setting factories in motion. To shorten the time for reconstruction of the country, they promoted among the youth a new attitude to work, taking the lead in labour emulation, in cultural activity and in sports. There were UFY members in the army and in the Citizen's Militia, in the security corps and in the People's Councils. Many young people went straight to the front after filling out their UFY application and later joined in the fighting against the armed bands. Like the Party organizations, the UFY circles were strong supporters of people's power, particularly in the rural areas where terrorist bands were operating. Even after the liberation of the country, about 2,000 UFY members lost their lives in the struggle to consolidate the new social system.

UFY members took an active part in populating and developing the regained Western Territories. They strengthened the cadre of officers of the People's Army with their great devotion, selflessness, youthful uncompromising enthusiasm and ideological maturity.

It is to the lasting credit of the Union of Fighting Youth that it educated the Polish youth in the spirit of fraternity and friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, with the peoples of the Socialist countries, that it educated our young people in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Fraternal contacts were established and strengthened with the progressive young German generation which, under the leadership of its party, played an active role in building the first German state of workers and peasants in the history of that country, breaking

away from the militarist and chauvinist past and developing relations of friendship and cooperation with Poland.

Another reason why we are devoting so much attention to the 20th anniversary of the Union of Fighting Youth today is that the young people belonging to it, through their struggle and their activity, created ideological, educational, moral and intellectual patterns that have lost nothing of their vitality. These young people put into practice the slogan written on their banners: "Struggle, Education, Work." It was in action and not by contemplation that these ideological and educational patterns were born, that a new style of life for youth was shaped. The young person's authority in his community was dependent on his authentic achievements in studies and work. In his ideological, political and moral attitude the people among whom he lived saw the high degree of unity between the word and the deed.

The shaping of these patterns of behaviour was sealed by the blood and toil of thousands of UFY members and Party members in the struggle for People's Poland. You know their names, for they have become a symbol in the youth movement, and perhaps, in some cases, they have assumed their symbolical expression too quickly.

Today, I should like to mention one name, that of comrade Aleksander Kowalski, member of the Polish Young Communist League and the Communist Party of Poland. As an outstanding party leader during the occupation period, secretary of the Warsaw Committee of the PWP and chairman of the Central Board of the UFY, he made a big contribution to the work of attaining ideological and organizational unity of the young generation of Poles, in forming the Union of Polish Youth, your predecessor which, together with the Party, carried on its young shoulders the heavy burden of Socialist industrialization of the country. Former members of this organization are

working, and working well, in factories, in institutions of higher learning and research institutes, in culture and education, in national and local government bodies, in civic and professional organizations.

*Dear Comrades and Friends,*

Our Party, its leadership, has always appreciated and still appreciates the activity of the existing youth organizations that have their roots in the Union of Fighting Youth and the Union of Polish Youth. We believe that the Socialist Youth Union (SYU) has some important achievements to its credit, particularly in the development of the Socialist labour emulation movement and in raising the qualifications of our youth. The SYU is working with ever better results among the young people studying at our secondary schools and universities and colleges.

We know the great importance of the Rural Youth Union (RYU) which has become a mass organization in the countryside and is developing new social methods and forms of work among the rural youth, both those belonging to the RYU and those outside it. The RYU is becoming an important social force in the rural areas that is helping the Polish United Workers' Party and the United Peasant Party in the endeavour to achieve a steady increase in agricultural production and pave the way for the social transformation of the Polish countryside.

Because of its social and ideological attitude and its everyday concern for the living conditions of the youth, the Polish Student Association has won great prestige among our students. Many valuable projects, moulding the interests of our children and school youth, have been developed by the Union of Polish Pioneers.

The whole of the youth movement, all our youth organizations have considerable achievements to their credit in educating the young generation in the Socialist spirit.

Of course, we cannot and should not be content with what we have done to-date. New tasks keep cropping up all the time in connection with the needs of industry, agriculture and education, in connection with all spheres of life. The achievements of the youth organizations must be measured solely by the scale of the present and future needs and tasks of the young generation of our Socialist country.

In our work and activity, comrades, you should avail yourselves of the ideological and educational patterns of your predecessors, and not only be content to honour them on the occasion of anniversary meetings.

These patterns of behaviour should become part and parcel of the life of young girls and boys who are studying and working in People's Poland in 1963. For these young people, who are very down to earth and definite in their views, it is important to create an atmosphere of selflessness, hard work, of constant self-improvement, of an active attitude towards the reality surrounding us; more and more stress should be laid on good points in character and improving one's mind.

The epoch in which we are living is the most stormy and momentous period in the whole history of mankind for it is a period in which the new future of the world is being born. This future, which should be lasting peace, freedom and cooperation between nations, which should bring a magnificent development of science and technology, for the good of man, depends on the struggle being waged today for peaceful coexistence, against imperialism and colonialism, on the economic competition between the two systems, the capitalist and Socialist systems. The main factor defining the present development of mankind are the constantly growing forces of Socialism, the might of the Socialist camp, its ever greater material and moral potential. And it is these forces that are the main guarantee of peace.



In shaping the future of the world, an important role will be played by the young generation of builders of Socialism and Communism, people who are ideologically developed and are conscious of the aims they have set themselves. The role of the Polish youth, like that of their counterparts in the other Socialist countries, consists, above all, in an active, conscious and selfless participation in the development of the economy, education and culture in their country, a country which is making an important contribution to the consolidation of the world Socialist system. In the final reckoning it is precisely the development of the economy, science and culture in the world Socialist system that will determine the victory of Socialism on a world scale and will pave the way for a new tomorrow for mankind.

Comrades, you are faced with tasks for today and tomorrow, tasks that continue to be of vital importance: to educate ideologically mature people, patriots and internationalists, noble and hard-working people, people devoted to Socialist Poland.

In practical everyday language, this means that young people should be imbued with pride at what has already been achieved, that they should strongly believe in the future and in the development prospects of People's Poland. This means that the youth should commit itself ever more fully to Socialist construction, to a down-to-earth constant fight against negative phenomena among young people, and not only among the young. Our youth should grow up in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and solidarity with the youth and the working people of all countries.

In your activity, more and more attention should be paid to ideological and political work. Marxism-Leninism, the history of your own country, a better understanding of the relation of forces in the world, a thorough study of the current problems of the country — all these are subjects of utmost importance in



your ideological and educational work. You can broaden and enrich this activity with your own initiative and ingenuity.

Allow me, comrades, on the occasion of today's meeting, to wish you, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, new achievements and successes in your activity for the good of our country — the Polish People's Republic — and for the benefit of the whole nation.

## JERZY KWIATEK

Chairman of the Central Board of the  
Polish Student Association

# THE POLISH STUDENT ASSOCIATION

In February 1963 the Fifth Congress of the Polish Student Association (PSA) — an organization which has in its ranks over 80 per cent of young people who study at our institutions of higher learning — took place in Warsaw.

The Congress reviewed the work of the last three years and worked out the line of the new programme.

This event closed the thirteenth year of activity of the Polish Student Association whose origin lies in the progressive, left-wing section of the Polish student movement. The concept of our organization stems from the principle that the students, who are a part of society, should take the most active possible part in the affairs of their country. Hence the political platform of the PSA, hence the points in its programme which enable the students to participate actively in the political, social, economic and cultural life of People's Poland.

These objectives are formulated in the Statutes, in which we read:

"Pursuing its activity within the framework of the National Unity Front, the PSA participates actively in implementing the programme of building Socialism in Poland, promotes awareness of civic co-responsibility for the future of the country, its independence, and the successful development of Socialism. The PSA carries out its tasks under the ideological leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party."

It is obvious that, apart from the principal influence exerted by social transformations, education of a first-rate specialist

imbued with the Socialist spirit calls for a consistent effort on the part of the university authorities, the entire teaching staff, the PSA and other youth organizations working among the students.

In its everyday work the PSA cooperates closely with two ideological and political organizations active in institutions of higher learning: the Socialist Youth Union and the Rural Youth Union. Their total membership among students is close to 35,000.

The Fifth Congress of the PSA took place two months after the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PUWP. Under discussion at the Plenum were the main problems regarding higher education and science in Poland. The resolution of the Plenum entrusted the universities and colleges with the important task of graduating 800,000 students by 1980. The question of ways and means for the Polish Student Association to participate in carrying out this long-term plan was one of the chief subjects of discussion at our Congress and was reflected in its final resolutions.

There are two factors that can ensure the carrying out of this task: the number of students must be increased and the teaching methods made more effective. This second problem in particular is closely connected with the line of the new programme of activity.

The resolution of the Plenum stipulates that during the next seventeen years the effectiveness of teaching must be raised by 30 per cent. At present it is somewhere around 50 per cent.

What will the PSA do to bring about an improvement in this regard? During the last few years we have developed several interesting forms of activity in this field, such as: help by good students to poorer ones, care of freshmen by PSA activists, competitions for the best first-year student group, joint conferences with professors before and after sessions, libraries



STUDENTS DOING VOLUNTARY WORK ON A COMMUNITY PROJECT

in the student hostels and university departments, etc. Our chief efforts are concentrated on the first years of studies, for, as figures show, the largest number of students drop away in the first and second years. This is due to the inability of the new students to adapt themselves to conditions of studies that are much different than those in secondary schools — at the university they come up against the problem of independent work. We want to improve and develop the forms we have already worked out.

The PSA plays quite a role in the work on the modernization of the programme and the process of studies by submitting

demands and proposals to the university authorities and the respective ministries.

As part of its work, the PSA also draws groups of students into activity not immediately connected with the programme of studies. Thus the number of scientific circles shows a steady growth — there are over 400 of them now. The same applies to the number of national scientific congresses and socio-scientific vacation camps. And what is most important, the circles are taking more and more interest in work on contemporary problems, the results of which are of practical value. The circles are becoming initiators of scientific sessions in the institutions of higher learning; they are becoming centres of discussion, centres developing the scientific interests of the students.

Year after year the PSA sends over 1,200 students abroad for practical work and also interests itself in how practical work is organized and run at home.

The entire programme of work of the Association is directed toward definite educational aims; as a result, it is called a school of civic education.

Aside from the aforementioned activity, worthy of note is the socio-political work of the PSA. We take part in all the important national campaigns and political drives, in conferences on important anniversaries and national events. Among these were: elections to the Sejm and the People's Councils, the 20th anniversary of the formation of the Polish Workers' Party, the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Lenin Days, May Day, etc., as well as student demonstrations against the murder of Patrice Lumumba and U.S. aggression against Cuba, Solidarity Weeks with Students of Africa and Latin America, solidarity actions with the students of fighting Algeria and the sending of material aid to them.

The celebrations connected with the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Polish Workers' Party constituted a rich and

interesting campaign which involved a large number of students and made a deep impression on them. The celebrations took on many forms: about 100 meetings, 16 sessions devoted to discussion of the history of the Party, 40 soirees and other gatherings, exhibitions, concerts by student groups with programmes especially prepared for the occasion, rides and hikes along the routes at one time taken by the People's Guard, six big rallies of students in various parts of the country, etc.

All this augments the students' knowledge about the political situation of Poland and the world, about present-day People's Poland and how it came into being.

The voluntary work done by students on behalf of "their town," their community is well known throughout the country. Their work to beautify the towns, the "white Sundays" of the medical students, free tutelage, free concerts, socio-scientific summer camps, these are some of the forms of their work. In the academic year 1961-1962 alone more than 60,000 students participated in various types of such activity.

For three years now the whole PSA has been cooperating with the northern province of Koszalin in which there is no institution of higher learning.

This is an interesting form of community work that makes it possible for the students to participate as it were in "running the province" while still studying and — what is most important and really the aim of this cooperation — it helps the administration of the province to obtain the needed expert personnel with higher education. We employ various means to popularize the beauty of the Koszalin region and the plans for its development.

The work of the student amateur cultural movement and student clubs, their wide variety of artistic activity, have won the hearts of people all over the country. We have today some 200 student artistic groups, some of them well established and





IN THE LOBBY OF ONE OF THE STUDENT HOSTELS

some of more recent origin, whose interest and freshness of ideas testify to the resilience of this movement. In many cases they are an example of the skilful linking of ideological subjects with very high artistic level. The programmes of student theatres are for the most part based on their own texts which deal with current problems.

The student theatrical movement includes song and dance groups, choirs, ballet groups, dramatic and satirical theatres cabarets, small groups of singers and jazz bands. Not all of them, of course, are on the highest level. But all of them exert an educational influence: they awaken interest in art, cultivate good taste, and bring young people together.

No less important in the life of the students and the community are the student clubs. At present, 90 such clubs are to be found in the country, the largest of which, the inter-university student clubs in Gdańsk, Warsaw, Cracow, Łódź, Poznań and Szczecin, fulfil the function of important cultural centres. Lectures, discussions, meetings with political leaders and workers in the cultural field, art exhibitions, hobby groups, theatres and cabarets, choirs and jazz bands — these are some of the forms of their work. The *Hybrydy* Student Club in Warsaw and the *Żak* Student Club on the coast are especially well known — and not only among students. It is worth noting that most of the club-houses have been built by the students themselves.

The important tasks of the PSA stem from its role of representative and defender of the students' interests, mainly in safeguarding proper economic conditions during studies. Under the social system of our country the financial burden of the education is borne by the state. Our task is to help manage the allotted funds, to exercise social control over them, to concern ourselves with their just division and, if necessary to demand larger sums. We carry out our tasks by participating in the scholarship commissions, in the work of the Residents' Councils in Student Hostels and Student Commissions in canteens and by steady cooperation with the University Health Service. We initiated the system of factory scholarships as a form of cooperation between the educational institution and the future place of work of the graduates, and combated distortions in the practical implementation of this form of state aid for students. We organized many conferences with people responsible for the functioning of Student Hostels, canteens and the health service in order to draw attention to shortcomings in these services, or to the state of health of the students

and the need for action on the part of the health service to improve medical care.

We carry on large-scale research and other types of work with the aim to facilitate the employment of graduates in accordance with their qualifications and the needs of the various regions of the country, and to assist the young people who are often helpless in the face of the new difficulties after completing their studies, to make a start in life.

Important, too, is the work of the PSA in developing different forms of travel and in making arrangements for rest during vacations. Increasingly larger groups of students take trips with the help of the PSA. Through its Travel and Vacation Bureau the Association organizes holidays for some 16,000 students at home and over 3,500 students abroad.

We take advantage of our relations with student organizations in other countries to imbue our students with a spirit of internationalism, with a feeling of respect and friendship for other peoples, to enhance Poland's prestige abroad and to popularize the achievements of our Socialist country. Our activity also helps the students to acquaint themselves with the culture, science and technology of other countries. It promotes cooperation, first and foremost, with all progressive and peace-loving forces in the international student and youth movement, especially in the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence, for general and complete disarmament; it lends support to the struggles of students in colonial and dependent countries against colonialism and imperialism and for the achievement and consolidation of national independence and the free development of their economy and culture.

Experience of the past years has shown that the International Student Union, of which the PSA is a member, has become an important instrument in promoting closer cooperation and unity among students in the struggle for the fulfilment of

their most vital aspirations and aims. Today, after 16 years of its activity, the International Student Union is an organization that enjoys great prestige and recognition on the part of the overwhelming majority of student associations throughout the world.

In accordance with the mandate of the Fourth Congress, the PSA sponsored and pursued a policy designed to promote cooperation among students and to search for ways and means to restore unity in the world student movement. We pursued this aim at the congresses of the International Student Union in Bagdad and Leningrad, at the World Youth Forum in Moscow and the Festival in Helsinki, at meetings in Paris on the occasion of the Congress of the National Union of French Students (UNEF) and at the Seminar in Dubrovnik, at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Student Union in Havana and Djakarta.

An important element of the international activity of the PSA was the continued development of cooperation with the students of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and other Socialist countries, friendly cooperation with the UNEF, and useful bilateral contacts with UNURI (the National Union of Italian Students) and the student organizations of Scandinavia and Belgium.

The PSA continued its endeavours for the further development of cooperation between the European student associations. Helpful in this respect were the three European Meetings of Student Organizations during the last 3 years initiated by and organized jointly with the UNEF. These meetings are an important forum and make for better mutual understanding among student organizations in Europe. This is true especially of the 4th Conference which took place in Warsaw in June of last year.

The Conference discussed some of the key political problems, such as: disarmament, the peaceful solution of the German problem, the signing of a peace treaty with Germany and the development of cooperation between the East and West. Under discussion too were concrete steps to improve cooperation among European students in the fields of culture, science and tourism.

In addition to the broad exchange of information and the useful meetings and international seminars, we also expanded scientific, cultural and tourist exchange.

This exchange brought many benefits to Polish students: it made it easier for them to become acquainted with the economy, technical achievements and culture of other nations. Our active participation in international festivals and events in France, Italy and Yugoslavia, and the frequent trips by our artistic groups to Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Austria, Denmark, Sweden and Finland, helped to popularize Polish culture and the rich achievements of the student cultural movement in Poland.

As in the case of our work in the country, all our initiative and projects concerning foreign activity stem from our educational aims: the broadening of the mental and political horizons of the students, development of a feeling of pride in the achievements and the peaceful policy of our country, strengthening of the ties of friendship with the youth of Socialist countries, and greater solidarity with students the world over in the fight for national independence, peace and social progress.

## THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY IN 1962

## 1. NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF PUWP MEMBERS AND CANDIDATES.

On December 31, 1962, the Party had 1,397,001 members and candidates. The changes which have taken place within the last years are shown in the following table:

Specification	1960	1961	1962
Members and candidates			
Total	1,154,672	1,306,215	1,397,001
of which:			
Women	177,242	205,365	226,946
Members	977,989	1,099,215	1,233,159
Candidates	176,683	207,000	163,842

Members and candidates at present make up 7.5 per cent of the whole population over 18 years of age.

On December 31, 1962, of the total of 1,397,001 members and candidates, 971,304 (69.5 per cent) were in the Party organizations in the cities and 425,697 (30.5 per cent) in the countryside.

Distribution of the members and candidates in certain branches of the national economy on December 31, 1962, is shown in the following table:

Specification	In numbers	In percentages
Total	1,397,001	100
INDUSTRY	458,926	32.8
of which: Coal and oil industry	53,252	3.8
Smelting: iron and non-ferrous metals	42,140	3.0
Engineering and metal industry	108,958	7.8
Chemical industry	35,446	2.5
Textile industry including knitted goods and clothing industry	73,138	5.2



Specification	In numbers	In percentages
Food industry	48,958	3,5
TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS	104,831	7,5
of which: Polish State Railways	65,461	4,7
CONSTRUCTION	56,895	3,9
TRADE	91,377	6,5
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY	345,584	24,7

## 2. ACCEPTED INTO THE PARTY

Between 1960 and 1962, 496,302 candidates were accepted into the Party. In 1961, 196,675 candidates, i.e., the largest number within the past fourteen years, were accepted into the Party.

More detailed information on the accepted candidates is given in the following table:

Years	Total	of which			Workers		Peasants	White-collar workers	Students	Others
		Women	members up to 25 years	members of SYU RYU*	Total	of which agricultural workers				
In numbers										
1960	167,403	27,082	59,346	27,069	81,673	8,492	23,895	58,789	691	2,355
1961	196,675	38,485	70,218	35,299	92,214	7,829	30,603	68,680	958	4,220
1962	132,227	29,056	47,366	25,760	62,917	4,443	14,224	50,412	1,466	3,205
in percentages										
1960	100.0	16.2	35.5	16.2	48.8	5.1	14.3	35.1	0.4	1.4
1961	100.0	19.6	35.7	17.9	46.9	4.0	15.6	34.9	0.5	2.1
1962	100.0	21.0	35.8	19.5	47.6	3.4	10.8	38.1	1.1	2.4

\* Socialist Youth Union

\*\* Rural Youth Union

A comparison of the figures shows:

- 1) that the percentage of workers among the newly accepted candidates is much greater than the percentage of workers in the Party;
- 2) that the number of women is steadily increasing;
- 3) that the high percentage of candidates up to 25 years of age, noted during the past few years, is being maintained;

4) that the number of peasants among the accepted candidates is insufficient and does not correspond with the actual Party influence among the peasantry and with the achievements of the Party in the transformation of agriculture.

The strengthening of the Party organizations among the peasants is one of the main tasks facing the Party in 1963.

And here is how some of the professions are represented among the accepted candidates figuring among the white-collar workers;

Specification	1961	1962	1961	1962
	in numbers		in percentages	
TOTAL	68,680	50,412	100.0	100.0
of which:				
Engineers and technicians	13,592	10,423	19.8	20.7
Teachers	13,618	9,452	19.8	18.7
Economists, planners, statisticians and workers in finance	7,225	5,552	10.5	11.0
Agronomists and other agricultural and forestry specialists	2,133	1,482	3.1	2.9
Doctors and qualified medical workers	3,058	2,499	4.4	5.0
Economic and administrative management	2,448	1,382	3.6	2.7
Functionaries of Ministry of Internal Affairs	3,196	2,744	4.9	5.4
Trade Personnel	5,438	3,533	7.9	7.0

The above data indicate that within this group the most numerous are: engineers, technicians, teachers, economists and specialists in agriculture and forestry.

### 3. EXPELLED AND TAKEN OFF THE MEMBERSHIP LIST

During 1960-1962, 23,610 members were expelled from the Party for infringement of Party ethics. In the same period, 65,677 members and candidates were taken off the membership list. Among the latter, the largest group was made up of people who neglected their Party duties and did not show interest in Party life.

## 4. THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY

On December 31, 1962, the social composition of the Party was as follows:

Specification	1961	1962	1961	1962
	in numbers		in percentages	
Total	1,306,215	1,397,001	100.0	100.0
Workers	524,069	556,170	40.1	39.8
of these:				
Agricultural workers	47,421	50,361	3.6	3.6
Peasants	156,135	161,151	12.0	11.5
White-collar workers	560,246	606,563	42.9	43.7
Others	65,765	70,117	5.0	5.0
of these: Pensioners	40,249	43,829	3.1	3.1

## A. WORKERS

There are 556,170 workers in the Party, i.e., 39.8 per cent of all members and candidates. As compared with 1961, the number of workers in the Party increased by 32,101.

Comparatively, the highest number of workers is in Katowice Province — 48.4 per cent, and in the city of Łódź — 47.6 per cent.

Of the total number of 556,170 workers in the Party, 420,188 (75 per cent) belong to Party organizations in the cities, and 135,982 (24.4 per cent) in the countryside.

The workers, in the Party (members and candidates) constitute 10.6 per cent of all manual workers employed in the socialized sector of the national economy.

## B. PEASANTS

At the end of 1962, there were 161,151 peasants in the Party or 11.5 per cent of all the members and candidates. As compared with 1961, the number of peasants in the Party increased by 5,016.

For every 1,000 farms in the country, there are, on the average, 48 peasants (members and candidates) in the Party.

The largest percentage of Party members and candidates among the peasants is in Bydgoszcz Province — 106 for every 1,000 farms.

Here is a table showing the size of holdings owned by peasant members and candidates:

Years	Total	Farms (in hectares)				Members of cooperative farms
		Up to 2	2-5	5-10	10 and over	
In Numbers						
1961	156,135	26,865	53,804	51,310	15,731	8,425
1962	161,151	29,027	57,432	56,201	11,325	7,164
In Percentages						
1961	100.0	17.2	34.4	32.9	10.1	5.4
1962	100.0	18.0	35.7	34.9	7.0	9.4

### C. WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS

At the end of 1962, there were 609,563 white-collar workers in the Party. This represented an increase of 49,317 as compared with 1961.

Members and candidates, included in this group, comprise 25.2 per cent of the total number of white-collar workers employed in the socialized sectors of the national economy.

Here is a breakdown of white-collar workers in the Party — members and candidates — according to the work they do and the positions they hold:

Specification	1961	1962	1961	1962
	in numbers		in percentages	
TOTAL	560,246	609,563	100.0	100.0
Engineers	24,177	28,869	4.3	4.7
Technicians	59,275	70,923	10.6	11.6
Foremen	24,616	38,510	4.4	6.3
Agronomists and other agricultural specialists	13,968	14,590	2.5	2.4
Professors and assistants	3,952	4,409	0.7	0.7
Teachers	56,885	65,520	10.2	10.7
Writers, journalists, artists	3,519	3,638	0.6	0.6
Doctors and pharmacists	4,375	5,340	0.8	0.9
Trained health service personnel	6,872	8,187	1.2	1.3
Political Workers	17,552	16,242	3.1	2.7
Leading workers in administrative and economic fields	42,446	47,446	7.6	7.8
Functionaries of Ministry of Internal Affairs	54,170	57,835	9.7	9.5
Trade employees	48,239	40,287	8.6	6.6

Specification	1961	1962	1961	1962
	in numbers		in percentages	
Workers in the judiciary and lawyers	4,423	4,899	0.8	0.8
Clerks and other white-collar workers	195,778	202,868	34.9	33.4
of these: Economists, planners, statisticians and workers in finance		43,606		7.2

The engineers, technicians and agronomists mentioned in the above table are employed directly in production. Besides this, we have in the Party a group of engineers, technicians, agronomists and doctors occupying leading positions in the administrative and economic apparatus or holding other positions at present.

It is estimated that 31.7 per cent of engineers and 36.6 per cent of technicians employed in the national economy are members or candidates of the Party.

The number of teachers in the Party increased last year by 8,635. We now have 65,520 teachers in the Party or 31.2 per cent of all teachers in the primary and secondary schools in the country.

It is noteworthy that 28,116 teachers who are members of the Party are working in the countryside. This is 31 per cent of the total number of village teachers.

Last year also saw an increase in the number of doctors and auxiliary medical personnel in the Party.

In 1961, there were 16,788 Party members and candidates occupying leading positions in the state administration, among them, 1,156 persons on the central level, 1,781 on the provincial level, 7,425 on the county level, and 6,426 on the village level.

\*

Apart from the above-mentioned main social groups (workers, peasants and white-collar workers) in the Party there are 61,258 members who do work professionally and 3,323 artisans. Both these groups represent 4.6 per cent of the total number of members and candidates.

Pensioners comprise 3.1 per cent of all Party members and candidates.

## 5. NUMBER OF YEARS IN THE PARTY

The following table illustrates how long the members have been in the Party.

Year	Total	Accepted into the Party in the years					
		up to 1948	1949—1953	1954—1956	1957—1958	1959—1960	1961—1962
in numbers							
1961	1,099,215	470,258	137,353	191,318	64,717	131,695	103,874
1962	1,233,159	455,477	133,844	186,568	68,430	140,252	248,588
in percentages							
1961	100.0	42.9	12.5	17.4	5.9	11.9	9.4
1962	100.0	37.0	10.8	15.2	5.5	11.4	20.2

## 6. AGE OF PARTY MEMBERS AND CANDIDATES

The age of members and candidates is shown in the following table:

Specification	Total	18—24	25—29	30—39	40—49	50—59	60 and over
Total	100.0	7.5	16.2	34.7	20.1	14.8	6.7
City	100.0	6.8	16.3	36.5	19.7	14.3	6.4
Village	100.0	9.0	15.9	30.6	21.2	16.0	7.3

The most numerous group among the comrades is between 30—39 years of age: 34.7 per cent of all the members and candidates. 58.4 per cent of the members and candidates are between 18 and 39 years of age.

## 7. EDUCATION OF THE MEMBERS AND CANDIDATES

For a number of years there has been a continuous increase in the degree of education of Party members and candidates. The changes in this respect are shown in the following table.



Year	Total	Primary		Secondary a)	Higher a)
		not completed	completed		
1961	100,0	23,8	50,0	20,5	5,7
1962	100,0	22,0	51,0	20,9	6,1

a) Only completed education is taken into account. Secondary education that has not been completed is included in the primary group; higher — in the secondary group.

The percentage of comrades who have not completed their primary education is continually decreasing, while the percentage of Party members and candidates who have completed primary, secondary and higher education is increasing. At present, 27 per cent of the Party members and candidates have secondary and higher education. The number of comrades with higher education has increased from 22,793 in 1951 to 84,579 in 1961.

Apart from the university students, 73,801 members and candidates are taking supplementary courses to improve their education:

16,144 are completing their primary schooling;  
 44,228 „ „ „ secondary schooling;  
 13,429 „ „ „ university studies.

According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, 392,660 citizens have a full university education. In this group, members and candidates of the Party comprise 21.5 per cent. Of the total number of 1,965,200 persons (over 18) with secondary and partial university education, 14,9 per cent are members and candidates of the Party.

## 8. WOMEN IN THE PARTY

Year	Women in the Party	
	in figures	percentage of the total number of members and candidates
1961	205,465	15,7
1962	226,946	16,2

## 9. PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

The organizational development of the Party, as compared with 1961, is as follows:

Specification	1961	1962	Index 1961= 100
	in figures		
Party branches	59,955	62,426	104.1
of which: in the cities	27,178	28,316	104.2
in the villages	32,777	34,110	104.1
Factory Party Committees in branches with over 400 members and candidates	325	360	110.8
Departmental Party branches	9,084	9,848	108.4
of which: in the cities	8,554	9,299	108.7
in the villages	530	549	102.8
Party groups	24,106	25,530	105.9
of which: in the cities	22,655	24,442	107.9
in the villages	1,451	1,088	75.0
Candidate groups	2,691	1,280	61.2
of which: in the cities	374	213	57.0
in the villages	1,717	1,067	62.1
Neighbourhood groups	4,669	5,028	107.7
Rural Community Party Committees*	4,602	4,540	98.7

\* A rural community is made up of several villages

The number of Rural Community Party Committees decreased as a result of changes in the administrative division which took place at the beginning of 1962. Such committees now function in 86.6 per cent of the existing rural communities.

## 10. PARTY BRANCHES WITH OVER 400 MEMBERS AND CANDIDATES

The number of Party branches with over 400 members and candidates increased from 325 to 360 (their total membership being 241,817, i.e. 17.3 per cent of all Party members and candidates).

Of the 360 branches with over 400 members and candidates, 312 are in large production enterprises: the largest number (64) in the engineering and metal industry, and (62) in the coal and oil industry.

Last year, the number of Party branches with over 400 members and candidates increased by 35 in large enterprises, and the number of

members and candidates by 28,755. These changes are illustrated in the following table.

Year	Factory branches with over 400 members and candidates	Dept. Party branches	Party groups	Members and candidates	Of these	
					candida- tes	women
1961	277	4,038	10,494	183,504	28,468	24,535
1962	312	4,567	12,209	212,349	24,443	29,012

The above organizations have 212,349 members and candidates, or 15.2 per cent of the total Party membership.

# M A T E R I A L S   A N D   D O C U M E N T S

## TELEGRAM TO COMRADE PALMIRO TOGLIATTI

*DEAR COMRADE TOGLIATTI:*

IN THE NAME OF THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY AND ITS CENTRAL COMMITTEE WE SEND OUR WARMEST AND HEARTIEST GREETINGS TO YOU ON YOUR SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY.

THE YEARS-LONG STRUGGLE CARRIED ON, UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP, BY THE GREAT ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY TO LIBERATE ITALY FROM THE YOKE OF FASCISM AND THE STRUGGLE IN THE SERVICE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ALL WORKING PEOPLE, HAS MADE YOUR PARTY AN EXCEPTIONALLY IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THE POLITICAL LIFE OF ITALY. YOUR CREATIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE GROWTH OF SOCIALIST THEORY AND PRACTICE, YOUR POSITIVE STRUGGLE TO UNITE ALL THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM, AND AGAINST FASCISM AND REACTION, EARNED YOU TREMENDOUS AUTHORITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

OUR PARTY AND PEOPLE ESTEEM YOU PROFOUNDLY AS AN OUTSTANDING COMMUNIST LEADER, A FRIEND OF PEOPLE'S POLAND, AN ARDENT SPOKESMAN FOR FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR NATIONS.

WE WISH YOU, DEAR FRIEND, HEALTH AND MANY YEARS OF FRUITFUL ACTIVITY FOR THE WELFARE OF THE ITALIAN PEOPLE, FOR THE GREAT CAUSE OF PEACE, PROGRESS AND SOCIALISM.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

WARSAW, MARCH 25, 1963

WŁADYSŁAW GOMUŁKA

## CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS IN POLAND IN MARCH 1963

**Feb. 28-  
March. 8** Sergei Kurashov, Minister of Health of the USSR, visited Poland. The Soviet minister acquainted himself with the work of the Polish health service and visited its various institutions in Warsaw and other towns. During a meeting with Ryszard Strzelecki, Secretary of the Central Committee of the PUWP, opinions were exchanged on the basic public health problems of interest to both countries.

**1** On the occasion of People's Army Day of the German Democratic Republic, General Marian Spychalski, Minister of National Defence of the Polish People's Republic, sent a congratulatory message to General Heinz Hoffmann, Minister of Defence of the GDR.

● An agreement on cooperation between Poland and Mongolia in 1963 was signed in Ulan Bator.

**1-4** At the invitation of Aleksander Zawadzki, Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Sri Savang Vatthana, the king of Laos; paid a state visit to Poland. The king was accompanied by Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma and several other Ministers of the Laotian Government. The delegation of Laos held talks with a delegation of the Polish People's Republic and made a tour of Poland. A joint communiqué was issued upon the termination of the talks.

**2-7** At the invitation of the Warsaw Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party a delegation of the Budapest Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, headed by Sandor Gaspar, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the HSWP and First Secretary of the Budapest Committee, visited Warsaw. On March 5th the delegation was received by Zenon Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Com-

mittee. The delegation acquainted itself with the work of the Warsaw Committee and made a sightseeing tour of city.

**3** An official delegation of the Polish government, headed by Eugeniusz Szyr, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, took part in the opening of the Leipzig Fair.

**4** Czesław Wycech, Marshal (Speaker) of the Sejm, conveyed through the diplomatic representative of Mexico in Warsaw the reply of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic to the Congress of the United States of Mexico welcoming and expressing full approval of the appeal of the Congress (dated November 13, 1962) — addressed to parliaments, people's assemblies or legislative organs of all countries — for international peace and world disarmament as well as cessation of atomic tests carried on for military purposes. The Sejm expressed its full and complete solidarity with the text of the appeal.

● A protocol to the trade agreement between Poland and Turkey, for the period of April 1963 to March 1964, was signed in Ankara.

**6-12** At the invitation of the government of the United States of Mexico Józef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of

Ministers, paid an official visit to Mexico — the first visit on that level in Polish-Mexican relations. Premier Cyrankiewicz held fruitful talks with President Lopez Mateos, Foreign Minister Manuel Tello and other leading Mexican representatives on the subject of international politics and closer economic co-operation between the two countries. Premier Cyrankiewicz repeated the invitation extended by Aleksander Zawadzki, Chairman of the Council of State, to the President of Mexico to visit Poland. A joint Polish-Mexican communiqué was signed at the conclusion of the visit.

**7** A 3-year trade agreement for 1963-1965 was signed between the Polish People's Republic and the German Federal Republic as a result of negotiations between government delegations of the two countries. The new agreement provides for a marked increase in trade.

**8** On the occasion of International Women's Day the Central Committee of the PUPP extended the warmest greetings and best wishes to all Polish women.

● On International Women's Day the Chairman of the Council of State received in the Belvedere Palace a group of women



representing various social groups and regions of the country.

**8-10** The Sixth National Congress of the Polish Lawyers' Association took place in Warsaw. The Congress discussed a number of key problems of interest to the legal profession and elected new leading bodies.

**9** On the basis of existing treaties and agreements and in the desire to see a further development of relations between the two countries, the governments of the Polish People's Republic and the Republic of Senegal decided to exchange, as previously agreed, diplomatic missions on embassy level.

**11** A meeting, organized by the National and Warsaw Committees for the Cooperation of Youth Organizations, took place in Warsaw on the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Union of Fighting Youth. The meeting was addressed by Zenon Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the PUPW, and Marian Renke, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union.

● Following negotiations, a Polish-French commercial treaty for 1963 was signed in Warsaw. The treaty provides for a further

increase of about 20 per cent in trade between the two countries.

**12** The heads of agricultural departments of the Provincial Party Committees conferred at the Central Committee building in Warsaw. The meeting, attended by Edward Ochab, member of the Political Bureau of the CC, was devoted to a discussion of the principles governing the concentration of technical equipment in the agricultural circles and of the proper utilization of land from the State Land Fund by the State Farms.

**13** On his return journey from Mexico, Józef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited the United Nations headquarters in New York where he met with U.N. Secretary General U Thant and held a press conference for accredited journalists.

**14** In connection with the terror unleashed by reaction against patriotic progressive and democratic leaders and the execution of three leaders of the Communist Party of Iraq, a number of mass meetings took place in Poland at which the participants strongly protested against the atrocious repressions in Iraq and sent the warmest messages of solidarity to the patriots of that country.

- The Central Board of the Polish Miners' Union sent a telegram to the CGT Union of French Miners expressing solidarity of the Polish miners to their French brothers wishing them success in the fight for better living and working conditions.

- A protocol was signed in Warsaw following the meeting of Polish-Yugoslav machine-building and electrical engineering experts. A broad programme was worked out for cooperation in the machine-tool industry for the manufacture of agricultural machinery, in the production of complete industrial plants, in electronics, in the shipbuilding and railway rolling stock industries, in the construction and expansion of foundries, and in the production of machinery and plant for the building trades.

**14-15** Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the CC of the PUWP, and Antonín Novotný, First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, met in the High Tatra Mountains where they discussed matters of interest to both sides, especially the promotion of still closer economic cooperation between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

**14-16** At the invitation of the CC of the PUWP a delegation of the Socialist Unity Party

(SED) visited Poland. It included Gerhard Grueneberg, alternate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the SED, and Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Political Bureau and First Secretary of the District Committee of the SED in Frankfurt an der Oder. During its stay in Poland the delegation held talks with leading members of the PUWP in the course of which the question of exchanging delegations and experiences was discussed by the two fraternal parties.

- A delegation of the All-Poland Committee of the National Unity Front (NUF) attended the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Patriotic Front. The delegation was headed by Bolesław Podgórný, Deputy Chairman of the All-Poland Committee of the NUF and Deputy Chairman of the Council of State.

**14-18** At the invitation of the Italian Government, Józef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, paid an official visit to Italy. During his stay in that country Premier Cyrankiewicz held talks with President A. Segni, Premier A. Fanfani, and other Italian leaders on the subject of major international problems and relations between Poland and Italy, especially, economic relations. Premier Cyrankiewicz

also visited several centres of interest in Italy.

**17** A national congress of the Christian Social Association was held in Warsaw. The congress discussed the present political situation in the country, and especially such problems as cooperation between believers and non-believers for the development of Poland, and relations between the State and the Church in the light of the Second Vatican Council. Those attending the congress sent a message to Władysław Gomułka, First Secretary of the PUWP, in which they declared that they will take an active part in the construction of Socialism in Poland, cooperating for this purpose, in the ranks of the National Unity Front, with their fellow citizens who hold a different world outlook in order to further the interests of the country.

**17-24** The 11th National Fair — "Spring 1963" — took place in Poznań. 40,000 transactions, involving some 20,000 million zlotys, were concluded at the Fair.

**20** The town of Lubin celebrated the mining of the first ton of copper ore from the Legnica-Głogów deposits in the "Lubin" mine. Large-scale exploitation of these deposits will start in four years' time.

**22** The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party sent a message of greetings to the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Argentina which took place between March 22 and April 3 of this year.

● The enlarged Presidium of the Polish Peace Committee met in Warsaw and heard Professor Oskar Lange's address on "Economic Building and Peace," as well as the report of Ostap Dłuski on the Malmö Session of the Presidium of the World Peace Council.

Resolutions were adopted regarding the decisions of the enlarged Presidium in Malmö and on the events in Iraq and Syria. At the invitation of the Polish Peace Committee, Nicolai Bazanov, Secretary of the World Peace Council who was visiting Poland, was present at the meeting.

**22** Jan Mitreğa, Minister of the Mining and Power Industries, left for a two weeks' visit to India for the purpose of holding talks with government officials and visiting the Polish-built hard coal mine in Sudamdik as well as other industrial centres in India.

**23** The trade and payments agreement concluded between Poland and the Republic of Guinea

in 1960 was prolonged in Conakry to 1965.

**24-30** A Bulgarian government delegation headed by Georgi Trajkov, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Secretary General of the Bulgarian People's Peasant Union, visited Poland. The delegation attended the meeting of the Polish-Bulgarian Commission for Economic Cooperation. As a result of negotiations the scope of specialization and cooperation between Poland and Bulgaria was considerably broadened and agreement was reached on increased trade between the two countries.

**25** In connection with the international conference in Paris, for amnesty and the restoration of human rights in Greece, Professor Stanisław Kulczyński, Chairman of the Polish Peace Committee, sent a message to the presidium of the conference expressing solidarity in his own name and on behalf of the Polish peace movement. Similar telegrams were sent by Marian Renke, First Secretary of the CC of the Socialist Youth Union, J. Tejchma, Chairman of the Central Board of the Rural Youth Union, J. Zarzycki, Chairman of the General Board of the Association of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy and by the Central Council of Trade Unions.

- Plans were drawn up for scientific and technical co-operation between the metallurgical industries of Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1963. Czechoslovakia is to work on 80 and Poland on 83 subjects of research, design, technology, etc.

**26** On the 70th birthday of Comrade Palmiro Togliatti, General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party, the Central Committee of the PUWP sent a telegram to him extending heartiest greetings and best wishes.

**27** A plenary meeting of the Central Party Control Commission, attended by chairmen of Provincial and County Control Commissions, took place in Warsaw. The Plenum reviewed the work of the Commissions in 1962.

**28** Józef Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, addressed the 18th session of the present Sejm. Comrade Cyrankiewicz dealt at length with the economic situation of the country.

- At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party and the government of the German Democratic Republic, a delegation of the Polish Army, headed by General Marian Spychalski, member of the Political Bureau and Minister of National Defence,

paid an official visit to the GDR. The aim of the visit was to promote still closer cooperation between the Polish Army and the People's Army of the GDR and to cement the friendship between the two nations. The delegation visited units of the German People's Army and acquainted itself with the progress of Socialist construction in the German Democratic Republic.

**29** The Central Council of Trade Unions sent a telegram to the Congress of the Solidarity of

Latin America with Cuba, conveying fraternal greetings and best wishes for fruitful deliberations.

● Pola Gojawiczyńska, a woman who was one of the most outstanding of contemporary Polish writers, died in Warsaw at the age of 67.

**29-30** The Central Board of the Rural Youth Union met in Warsaw. The meeting adopted a resolution outlining the role and tasks of the Rural Youth Union on State Farms.





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